MEMOIRS

Of the moſt

Material Tranſactions

IN

ENGLAND,

FOR

The Laſt Hundred Years,

Preceding the REVOLUTION in 1688.

Written at the DESIRE of
The Late QUEEN *MARY*.

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BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE

KING.

SIR,

THE Great Patrons of Liberty have not thought it below them to become the Patrons of Hiſtory: And any thing of that kind which concerns *England*, does naturally claim the Protection of a Prince, who by his Valour and Conduct has not only reſtor'd to the *Engliſh* Nation that Figure they had loſt in the World for near an hundred Years paſt, but has rais'd them to a greater than ever they had before: A Prince who in all He has done for the Common Safety of *Europe*, could have no Brighter Examples to follow, than thoſe of his own Family. For when others have fought for Dominion and Power, vain empty Notions,

and deſtructive to Mankind; it has ever been a Glory peculiar to the Houſe of *Naſſau*, to have fought for *LIBERTY*, the Nobleſt Cauſe, and the Greateſt Stake that Mortals can contend for.

Let ſome Princes pretend to fading Laurels, by depopulating Countries, oppreſſing their Neighbours, and enſlaving free People; the ſureſt and beſt way to tranſmit a glorious Name to Poſterity, is to relieve the Oppreſs'd, break off their Fetters, and ſet the World free.

Theſe require no Varniſh to ſet off their true Luſtre; whilſt thoſe are oblig'd to make uſe of falſe Colours to palliate the higheſt Injuſtice. Let them value themſelves upon a Greatneſs that's borrow'd from Schemes that could hardly fail, as being tranſmitted to them from the long Experience of the ableſt Miniſters and moſt refin'd Stateſmen of the Age. That Prince, who without theſe Helps, at his firſt Appearance on the Stage, has by the mere Strength of his own Genius ſurmounted Difficulties that would have pall'd any Courage but his own, and at length has broke all thoſe Meaſures that had of a long time been concerting towards the enſlaving of *Chriſtendom*, cannot fail to make one of the nobleſt and brighteſt Figures in Hiſtory.

If it be the Prerogative of an Almighty Power and Goodneſs to ſet Bounds to the raging Sea, it muſt be the higheſt and moſt juſtifiable Imitation of it, to put a ſtop to the

the Ambition of Men, and to ſhelter Nations from their Fury.

It is in this Senſe chiefly, that Kings may be called Gods; And it is pity that the Lives of ſuch were not as immortal as their Deeds.

The Memory of that Prince muſt be laſting, who, in all the Wars he has been engaged in, and in all the Treaties that have been made to reſtore Peace to his Country, has never made any Terms for Himſelf; except once, when the Intereſt of Three Kingdoms, and his own, were become one and the ſame.

When ſucceeding Ages ſhall ſee ſcarce any other Coin in *England* but of one Stamp, they muſt look back with Amazement upon the Reign of a Prince whoſe Image it bears; and wonder how it was poſſible, That during the Heat of the moſt expenſive War that ever was, ſo vaſt a Treaſure could be new minted, and at ſo prodigious a Loſs: While at the ſame time they will commend and bleſs a People, that with ſo much Cheerfulneſs aſſiſted Him with Supplies ſuitable to ſuch mighty Undertakings. They will be no leſs ſurpriz'd to find, That amidſt a great many Hardſhips and Diſappointments which could not be avoided, his Armies follow'd him with an inviolable Fidelity, and Inimitable Courage: And will hardly believe, That it was within the Compaſs of human Prudence to cement ſo many jar-

ring Intereſts, and unite ſo many Princes of different Religions into one Alliance, and to influence their firm Adherence to that Alliance, till the Glorious Concluſion of a General Peace.

SIR,

All theſe great Things were reſerv'd for Your MAJESTY, which will be admir'd and extoll'd by Poſterity, no leſs than they are by the preſent Age: And it's but reaſonable that the Memory of ſuch Actions ſhould live for ever. The following Sheets, containing a ſhort View of the various Diſpoſition of Affairs in *England* for a whole Century before Your MAJESTY's Happy Acceſſion to the Crown, I humbly beg leave to lay at Your MAJESTY's Feet, with the moſt profound Submiſſion and Duty that becomes,

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

Your Majeſty's moſt Humble,

Moſt Faithful, and moſt

Obedient Subject and Servant,

Feb. 1699.

JAMES WELWOOD.

A ſhort INTRODUCTION, giving an Account how theſe *Memoirs* came at firſt to be writ.

THERE *came out, the firſt Years after the Revolution, ſeveral Books and Pamphlets that gave very contradictory Accounts of the Affairs and Reign of King* Charles I. *and among others one with the Title of a Letter from General* Ludlow *to Sir* Edward Seymour. *In this Pamphlet the Memory of that Prince was ſtrangely blackned, and all the Tranſactions of his Reign repreſented in the worſt Light. I had frequently the Honour of that excellent Princeſs* (*Queen* Mary's) *Commands to attend her in her Retirements, where our Diſcourſe turn'd generally upon Books, and more particularly ſuch as treated of the Reigns of her Great-Grandfather and Grandfather, King* James I. *and King* Charles I. *In all which Converſations ſhe expreſt the niceſt Judgment, and the moſt unbyaſt Inclination to find out Truth.*

The Week this Letter of General Ludlow *to Sir* Edward Seymour *came out, and had made a great Noiſe in Town; the Queen was pleas'd*

to ask me if I had read it: and I owning I had, she told me she had read it too, adding with a severe Air, that was not in her Nature, she was sure the Author must have been a very wicked Man, and that it was impossible King Charles *could be the Man he had painted him in that Pamphlet.*

Upon this, our Discourse on that Subject drew out into some Length; and she seem'd pleas'd with some Things I said, and some Answers I made to Questions she put to me about the Transactions of those Times. At last she fell to regret the insuperable Difficulties she lay under (for I well remember that was her Word) of knowing truly the History of her Grandfather's Reign; saying, that most of the Accounts she had read of it, were either Panegyrick or Satire, not History. Then with an inimitable Grace she told me; If I would in a few Sheets give her a short Sketch of the Affairs of that Reign, and of the Causes that produc'd such dreadful Effects, she would take it well of me. Such Commands were too Sacred not to be obeyed; and when I was retiring from her Presence, she stopt me to tell me she expected I would do what she had desir'd of me, in such a Manner, and with that Freedom, as if I design'd it for the Information of a Friend, and not one of the Blood of King Charles I. *promising to show it to none living without my Consent.*

In this manner was I engag'd to write these Memoirs: But when I came to set about them, I found my self obliged to begin them higher, and carry

carry them down lower in point of Time than was expected of me. Nor perhaps ſhould I have had any Thoughts of publiſhing them at the Time I did, if I had not been prevail'd with, partly from the Fear of a ſurreptitious Copy, but much more from King William's *having ſent me by the late Earl of* Portland *the Manuſcript I had given his Queen, found in her Cabinet; where upon the Back of it, ſhe had writ with her own Hand the Promiſe ſhe had made me of ſhewing it to no Body without my Conſent.*

If the World had not been bereav'd ſo ſoon of that ineſtimable Life, I had caſt theſe Memoirs into another Method, with large Additions; wherein ſome dark Tranſactions of thoſe Times might poſſibly have been put in a truer Light than hitherto they have been. And indeed it's a Pity, that of all the Nations in Europe, *the Hiſtory of ours alone ſhould ſeem moſt cover'd with the Clouds of Darkneſs and Partiality.*

J. W.

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MEMOIRS

OF

The moſt Material Tranſactions in *England*, &c.

THERE is not a Nation in *Europe*, that from the Conſtitution of its Government might have promis'd itſelf a more firm and laſting Repoſe than *England*: And yet ſcarce any Kingdom we know upon Earth have ſuffered ſo many and various Convulſions. As if ſome malevolent Planet had over-rul'd one of the beſt of human Conſtitutions, and by an unaccountable Fatality had render'd ineffectual all the Endeavours of our Anceſtors to make themſelves and their Poſterity happy under a limited Monarchy. A Monarchy, in which the Prerogative of the Prince, and the Liberty of the People are ſo equally temper'd, that there ſeems nothing wanting that may tend to the Happineſs of either.

The Excellency of the Engliſh *Conſtitution.*

The King of *England* has the Glory to rule over a Free People; and the People of *England* that of being ſubject to a Monarch, who by the Laws of the Country is inveſted with as much Power and Greatness as a Wiſe and Beneficent Prince can reaſonably wiſh for. To compleat all, the Crown of *England* has been for many Ages Hereditary, and fix'd in one Family: The Breaches that have been ſometimes made in the immediate Line, not at all derogating from the nature of a ſucceſſive-Monarchy, ſo long as a due reſpect is had to the Blood, and for the moſt part to the next immediate Heir, except only upon great and urgent Difficulties and Emergencies. The Crown being thus Hereditary, it might have reaſonably been expected, That we ſhould not only be Strangers to the Inconveniences that ariſe naturally from Competitions in elective Kingdoms; but that it ſhould be always the Intereſt of the Prince that's in poſſeſſion of the Throne, ſo to govern his People, as not to put them upon the neceſſity at any time to break thro' the Succeſſion, and paſs by the next immediate Heir.

But ſuch is the brittle State of human Things, that notwithſtanding all the Advantages and Excellencies of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, ſcarce an Age has paſs'd without ſome remarkable Struggle, either between King and People for Prerogative and Liberty,

erty, or between Competitors for the Crown ſelf.

The Reign of Q. Elizabeth.

The Glory of *England* was rriv'd to a high pitch in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*. Her People liv'd at their eaſe, and were appy under her auſpicious Conduct; and her oppreſs'd Neighbours felt the benign Influences of her great and bountiful Mind. She it was that made head againſt the then *Paramount Power* of *Chriſtendom*, and that in both the Old and New Worlds: And it was in a great meaſure owing to her Conduct and Fortune, that the *Spaniard* fell ſhort of the univerſal Monarchy.

Her Character.

To draw a Picture worthy of Q. *Elizabeth*, were a Taſk fit only for the greateſt Maſters; ſince all that ever was Great or Wiſe in Womankind did contribute to make up her Character. As to her Perſon, ſhe had but little of a regular Beauty in her Face: but that was well proportion'd, and in the main very agreeable. Her Mein and Gait were Noble; and in every thing ſhe ſaid or did, there was ſomething of Majeſty that ſtruck more Awe than Love: Tho' when ſhe had a mind, ſhe could put on Charms that few were able to reſiſt. In her Features, Perſon and Mein, ſhe had more of *Henry* VIII. than of the unfortunate *Anna Bullen*, her Mother; But they were his good, and none of his ill Qualities, which ſhe deriv'd from her Father.

Her Youth was a continued Scene of Afflictions; but ſhe was happy in that ſhe ſuffered one of the greateſt, before ſhe was capable of feeling the weight of it; for ſhe was ſcarce three Years old, when her Mother was ſacrific'd to the Rage and Jealouſy of her Husband. And ſhe that had been, the Year ſhe was born, declared not only Heir apparent of the Crown, but (which was out of the ordinary Road) Princeſs of *Wales*, and that by Act of Parliament, was now by another Act declar'd Illegitimate, and excluded from the Succeſſion.

Notwithſtanding this ſtrange Reverſe of Fortune, particular Care was taken of her Education, eſpecially by her Brother *Edward* VI. who loved her above all things, and was ſcarce ever pleas'd but in her Company. Before ſhe was ſeventeen Years of Age ſhe underſtood perfectly well the *Latin*, *French*, and *Italian* Tongues; and was ſo far Miſtreſs of the *Greek*, that ſhe tranſlated into *Latin* two of *Iſocrates's Orations*; one of which I have ſeen of her own Hand writing, corrected by her Tutor but in three places, whereof one is an Error only in the *Orthography*. She was indefatigable in the Study of Learning, eſpecially *Philoſophy*, *Hiſtory*, *Divinity* and *Rhetoric*; not forgetting both Vocal and Inſtrumental Muſick, as far as it might become one of her Quality.

Being thus Learned, it was no wonder ſhe form'd her Tongue and Pen to a pure and elegant

elegant way of Speaking and Writing, and her Mind to the nobleſt Notions of Philoſophy, and the higheſt Practice of Virtue.

Her Brother dying, Queen *Mary*'s Hereditary Averſion to her upon the account of their Mothers, broke out with all the Marks of Ill-nature and Revenge. And *Philip* II. who prov'd afterwards her greateſt Enemy, was the Perſon that preſerv'd her Life; but it was upon a mere political Deſign, which however miſcarried. During all that Reign, the Princeſs *Elizabeth* was toſt from one Confinement to another; being oblig'd many times to ſuffer Indignities far unworthy of her Birth; till at laſt by the Death of Queen *Mary*, ſhe was call'd from a Priſon to a Throne, at the Age of twenty five Years. Upon receipt of the News of her Siſter's Death, and that ſhe herſelf was proclaim'd Queen, it's ſaid ſhe fell down upon her Knees, and after a ſhort ſilence broke out with theſe words of the *Pſalmiſt*, *A Domino factum eſt iſtud, & eſt mirabile in oculis noſtris:* Which words ſhe took afterwards for her Motto in ſome of her Gold Coin.

During all the time of her Reign ſhe would never allow her Title to be debated or reaſon'd upon, nor ſo much as explain'd or vindicated. She thought it ſufficient that ſhe wore the Crown, and was reſolv'd, and knew well how to maintain it upon her Head, without the help of Paper Arguments. She receiv'd with Indignation a Propoſition

that was made to her, to have her Title aſſerted in Parliament; and ſcorn'd to repeal even the Act which declar'd her illegitimate, and incapable to ſucceed.

Her Reign was long and glorious, being lov'd of her People, fear'd and admir'd by her Enemies, and attended with conſtant Succeſs in all her Enterprizes. Never Prince was better ſerv'd, nor more happy in the choice of her Servants; and no Age can inſtance ſuch a Set of able Miniſters as ſhe had. Her Court at home was the quiet and happy Seat of the *Muſes*, while her Fleets and Armies abroad gather'd Laurels every where for their Miſtreſs and themſelves.

She had to perfection the Art of pleaſing her Parliament; and ſhe and they never parted in diſcontent but with the higheſt proofs of mutual Confidence. What ſort of Men they were that compoſed the Houſe of Commons during her Reign, and of how different a ſtamp from thoſe in that of her Succeſſor, is beſt expreſs'd in the * Words of Sir *Robert Naunton*, Secretary to K. *James*, who was a Member of Parliament in both Reigns; which may not be improper to inſert in the *Appendix*.

* Appendix, *Numb.* 1. *Pag.* 225. *The Character of the Members of Parliament in* Q. Elizabeth's *Reign.*

If Queen *Elizabeth* can be properly ſaid to have had Favourites, they were chiefly the Earls of *Leiceſter* and *Eſſex*; but ſhe never fail'd to humble them upon every Occaſion, where

where they preſum'd too much upon her Favour. The one ſhe recall'd with Ignominy from his Government of the *United Provinces*, for behaving himſelf haughtily in his Office: And at another time, upon his threatning *Bower*, the *Uſher of the Black Rod*, to have him turn'd out of his Place for ſtopping one of his Retinue at the Queen's Bed-Chamber Door, ſhe told him with a ſevere Frown, accompanied with an Oath, *My Lord, I had a mind to do you good, but you muſt not expect a Monopoly of my Favours: I have other Subjects to ſhow my Bounty to; and I will give and take back again, when, and as often as I pleaſe. If you pretend to command here, I'll find ways to humble you. I know of no Maſter, but I will make you know there is a Miſtreſs. And take care upon your Peril, that no hurt be done* Bower, *for I will make you anſwer for him.* The Misfortune of the Earl of *Eſſex* every body knows: Tho' otherwiſe a brave Gentleman, and endow'd with excellent Qualities, yet he valued himſelf too much upon the Queen's Favour; which, together with the Contrivances of his Enemies, hurried him on to Courſes that in the end loſt him his Head.

Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia.*

A Monarch ſupported with a *Burleigh*, a *Walſingham*, a *Salisbury*, for the *Cabinet*; a *Nottingham*, a *Drake*, a *Raleigh* for *War*; with a great many others equally fit for both; could ſcarce fail of being great and fortunate,

nor can any thing reflect more Luſtre upon her Wiſdom, than her choice of ſuch Men.

The Character of Sir Francis Walſingham.

Walſingham was a Pattern for all Stateſmen to copy after. By his Vigilance and Addreſs he preſerv'd his Miſtreſs's Crown and Life from daily Attempts and Conſpiracies againſt her; and by a refin'd piece of Policy defeated, for a whole Year together, the Meaſures *Spain* had taken for fitting out their *Armado* to invade *England*.

The vaſt Preparations that were making for a conſiderable time in *Spain*, kept all *Europe* in ſuſpence, and it was not certain againſt whom they were deſign'd; tho' it was the general Opinion they were to ſubdue the *Netherlands* all at once; which *Spain* was ſenſible could not be done without a greater Force by Sea as well as Land, than had been hitherto employ'd for that Service. Queen *Elizabeth* thought fit to be upon her guard, and had ſome Jealouſies that ſhe might be aim'd at; but how to find it out, was the difficulty, which at length *Walſingham* overcame.

He had Intelligence from *Madrid*, That *Philip* had told his Council, that he had diſpatch'd an Expreſs to *Rome* with a Letter writ with his own Hand to the Pope, acquainting him with the true Deſign of his Preparations, and asking his Bleſſing upon it; which for ſome Reaſons he would not yet diſcloſe to them, till the return of the Courier.

Courier. The Secret being thus lodg'd with the Pope, *Walſingham*, by the means of a *Venetian* Prieſt retain'd at *Rome* as his Spy, got a Copy of the Original Letter, which was ſtolen out of the Pope's Cabinet by a Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, who took the Keys out of the Pope's Pocket while he ſlept. How upon this Intelligence *Walſingham* found a way to retard the *Spaniſh* Invaſion for a whole Year, by getting the *Spaniſh* Bills proteſted at *Genoa*, which ſhould have ſupplied them with Mony to carry on their Preparations, being properly a Mercantile Affair, is needleſs here to mention.

I ſhall only give one Inſtance more of *Walſingham*'s Dexterity in employing and inſtructing his Spies how to get him Intelligence of the moſt ſecret Affairs of Princes. The Court of Queen *Elizabeth* had reaſon to have an Eye upon the King of *Scots*, as being the next Heir to the Crown, and who they knew was courted with all poſſible Inſinuations into the *French* Intereſt. In order to fathom King *James*'s Intentions, there was one *Wigmore* ſent to *Scotland*, who pretending to be diſoblig'd in *England*, fled thither for Protection. Sir *Francis Walſingham* gives him above ten Sheets of Paper of Inſtructions all writ with his own Hand, which I have read in the *Cotton* Library, ſo diſtinct and ſo digeſted, as a Man of far inferior Parts to *Wigmore* could hardly fail to be a Maſter in his Trade. In theſe Papers he inſtructs him

how to find out King James's *natural Temper; his Morals; his Religion; his Opinion of Marriage; his Inclinations to Queen* Elizabeth, *to* France, *to* Spain, *to the* Hollanders, *and in ſhort, to all his Neighbours.* He likewiſe directs him how to behave himſelf towards the King, *at Table; when a hunting; upon his receiving good or bad News; at his going to Bed*; and indeed in all the publick and private Scenes of his Life. *Walſingham* was not miſtaken in his Man; for tho' there paſt a conſtant Correſpondence betwixt them, *Wigmore* liv'd in the greateſt Favour and Familiarity with King *James* for nine or ten Years together, without the leaſt Suſpicion of his being a Spy.

Walſingham alſo laid the Foundation of the Civil Wars in *France*, and in the *Low Countries*, which put a final ſtop to the vaſt Deſigns of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Upon which occaſion he told the Queen at his return from his Embaſſy to *France*, *That ſhe had no reaſon to fear the* Spaniard; *for tho' he had a ſtrong Appetite, and a good Digeſtion, he had given him ſuch a Bone to pick, as would take him up twenty Years at leaſt, and break his Teeth at laſt: So her Majeſty had no more to do, but to throw into the Fire he had kindled, ſome* Engliſh *Fuel from time to time to keep it burning.* This Great Man after all the Services he had perform'd for his Queen and Country, gave a remarkable Proof at his Death how far he had preferr'd the Publick Intereſt

to

to his own; for he died ſo poor, that his Friends were oblig'd to bury him privately in the Night, for fear his Body ſhould be arreſted for Debt. *A Fault which few Stateſmen ſince his time have been guilty of.*

Such Miniſters alſo for Capacity and Application, were *Cecil* Lord *Burleigh*, and his Son the Earl of *Salisbury*, the Inheritor of his Father's great Qualities and Places. How refin'd a Politician he was, and how throughly acquainted with the moſt ſecret Deſigns of Foreign Courts, cannot be better expreſs'd, than in the words of the ſame *Naunton*; to which the Reader is referr'd.

Appendix *Numb.* 2. P. 227,

But to return to Queen *Elizabeth:* It appears by her whole Conduct ſhe had no Inclination to Marriage, being loth to ſhare her Power with any other. It's true, ſhe ſeem'd ſometimes to give ear to Propoſitions that were made her by ſeveral Princes; but this was done either to gain time, or manage their Friendſhip to her own Ends. When the Parliament addreſs'd her to marry, ſhe handſomely excus'd her ſelf in a pathetick Speech, concluding with this Expreſſion; *To me*, ſaid ſhe, *it ſhall be a full Satisfaction both for the Memorial of my Name, and for my glory alſo, if when I ſhall let my laſt breath it be engraven upon my marble Tomb, Here lies* Elizabeth, *who reign'd a Virgin and dy'd one.* The whole Speech is of ſo noble a Strain, that it deſerves a place in the *Appendix.*

Appendix, *Numb.* 3. P. 229.

She

She was very ſparing of Honours; inſomuch that Sir *Francis Walſingham* had been employ'd in ſeveral Embaſſies and other matters of State for many Years, before ſhe could be prevail'd with to make him a Knight; notwithſtanding it appears that he frequently ask'd it, and particularly in a printed Letter of his to *Cecil*. The Honour of Knighthood, tho' often proſtituted ſince, was in ſo great eſteem in her Reign, that a Gentleman of *Lincolnſhire* having rais'd three hundred Men for her Service at *Tilbury* Camp upon his own Intereſt, told his Wife at parting, that he hop'd thereby to deſerve the Queen's Favour ſo far, as that ſhe ſhould be a Lady at his Return.

She had a particular Friendſhip for *Henry* IV. of *France*; and to her in a great meaſure he ow'd his Crown. She never laid any thing more to heart than his changing his Religion: And it was a long time before ſhe could be brought to believe it. But when ſhe receiv'd the account of it from himſelf, all her Conſtancy fail'd her; and in the Agony of her Grief, ſnatching up a Pen ſhe writ him a ſhort Expoſtulatory Letter, worthy of her-ſelf, and of that melancholy occaſion; which is related in the *Appendix*. This her Grief (ſays her Hiſtorian) ſhe ſought to allay by reading the Sacred Scriptures, and the Writings of the Fathers, and even the

Appendix, *Numb.* 4. *Pag.* 231.

Cambden.

the Books of *Philoſophers*; tranſlating about that time for an Amuſement *Boethius de Conſolatione Philoſophiæ*, into elegant *Engliſh*.

The Affair of Mary Stuart, *Queen of* Scots.

The only Action that ſeems to reflect upon her Memory, was the Death of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*. There had been an Emulation betwixt them of a long ſtanding, occaſioned at firſt by the latter's aſſuming the Arms and Title of Queen of *England*; which it's no wonder Queen *Elizabeth* highly reſented. A great many other Accidents did contribute to alienate their Affections. But when it fell out that every Day produc'd ſome new Conſpiracy againſt the Life of Queen *Elizabeth*, and that in moſt of them the Queen of *Scots* was concern'd either as a Party, or the Occaſion; Queen *Elizabeth* was put upon a fatal Neceſſity of either taking off the Queen of *Scots*, or expoſing her own Perſon to the frequent Attempts of her Enemies. With what Reluctancy Queen *Elizabeth* was brought to conſent to her Death, and how ſhe was deceiv'd at laſt in ſigning the Warrant for her Execution, by the over Diligence of her Secretary and Privy-Council, her Celebrated Hiſtorian has given us a very full and impartial Account.

Cambden.

Yet Queen *Elizabeth* is not altogether excuſable in this matter; for Queen *Mary* came into *England* upon a Promiſe made her long before. Queen *Elizabeth* ſent her once a *Ring*, and

at

at the ſame time a Meſſage, That if at any time ſhe wanted her Protection, ſhe might be aſſured of it; and the Token betwixt them was Q. *Mary*'s ſending her back the ſame *Ring*. That unfortunate Princeſs ſeeing her Affairs deſperate in *Scotland*, diſpatch'd a Letter to Q. *Elizabeth*, with the Ring, to put her in mind of her Promiſe; but without waiting for an Anſwer, ſhe came into *England* the very next day. They were both to be pitied, the one for her Sufferings, and the other for being the Cauſe of them: And I have ſeen ſeveral Letters in the *Cotton* Library of Q. *Mary*'s Hand to Q. *Elizabeth*, writ in the moſt moving Strain that could be; moſt of them in *French*, being the Language ſhe did generally write in. There was one particularly, wherein ſhe tells her, *That her long Impriſonment had brought her to a Dropſical Swelling in her Legs, and other Diſeaſes, that for the Honour of her Sex ſhe forbears to commit to Paper.* And concludes thus, *Your moſt Affectionate Siſter and Couſin, and the moſt miſerable Princeſs that ever wore a Crown.* When ſuch Letters as theſe had no influence upon Queen *Elizabeth*, it may reaſonably be concluded, That nothing but Self-preſervation could oblige her to carry her Reſentments ſo far as ſhe did.

To ſum up the Character of this renowned Queen in a few Words: She found the Kingdom, at her coming to the Throne, *in a moſt afflicted Condition, embroil'd on the one ſide*

ſide with a Scotch, *and on the other with a* French *War*; *the Crown overcharg'd with her Father's and Brother's Debts*; *its Treaſure exhauſted*; *the People diſtracted with different Opinions in Religion*; *herſelf without Friends, with a controverted Title, and ſtrengthned with no Alliance abroad.* After one of the longeſt Reigns that ever was, ſhe died in Peace, *leaving her Country Potent at Sea, and Rich in People and Trade, her Father's and her Brother's Debts paid*; *the Crown without any Incumbrance*; *a great Treaſure in the Exchequer*; *the Coin brought to a true Standard*; *Religion ſettled upon a regular and laſting Baſis: herſelf having been admir'd and fear'd by all her neighbouring Princes, and her Friendſhip courted by Monarchs that had ſcarce ever before any further knowledge of* England, *but the Name.* So that her Succeſſor had good reaſon to ſay of her, *That ſhe was one who in Wiſdom and Felicity of Government ſurpaſs'd all Princes ſince the Days of* Auguſtus. K. James I.

After all, to the reproach of thoſe ſhe had made great and happy, ſhe was but ill attended in her laſt Sickneſs; and near her Death, forſaken by all but three or four Perſons: every Body making haſt to adore the *Riſing Sun.*

With Queen *Elizabeth* dy'd in a great part the Glory and Fortune of the *Engliſh* Nation; and the ſucceeding Reigns ſerv'd only to render hers the more Illuſtrious. As ſhe

was

was far from invading the *Liberties of her Subjects*, ſo ſhe was careful to maintain and preſerve her own *juſt Prerogatives*; nor did ever any Prince that ſat upon the *Engliſh* Throne carry the true and eſſential parts of Royalty further: But at the ſame time the whole Conduct of her Life placed her beyond the Suſpicion of ever having ſought *Greatneſs*, for any other end, than to make her People ſhare with her in it.

The Reign of K. James.

It was not ſo with the Prince that ſucceeded her. He was the more fond of *Prerogative*, becauſe he had been kept ſhort of it in his native Country. He graſp'd at an *Immoderate Power*, but with an ill Grace; and if we believe the Hiſtorians of that time, with a deſign to make his People little. If ſo, he had his Wiſh: for from his firſt Acceſſion to the Crown, the Reputation of *England* began ſenſibly to ſink; and two Kingdoms which, diſunited, had made each of them apart a conſiderable Figure in the World, now when united under one King, fell ſhort of the Reputation which the leaſt of them had in former Ages.

The latter Years of King *James* fill'd our Annals with little elſe but Misfortunes at home and abroad. The Loſs of the *Palatinate*, and the Ruin of the Proteſtants in *Bohemia* through his Negligence; the Trick that was put upon him by the Houſe of *Auſtria* in the Buſineſs of the *Spaniſh* Match; and

and the continued Struggle betwixt him and his Parliament about Redreſs of Grievances: were things that help'd on to leſſen his Credit abroad, and imbitter the Minds of his Subjects at home.

Repenting of theſe unlucky Meaſures too late, King *James* went off the Stage not much lamented; and left in Legacy to his Son, *a diſcontented People*; *an unneceſſary expenſive War*; *an incumbred Revenue, and an exhauſted Treaſury*; together with the Charge of his Grandchildren by the Queen of *Bohemia*, that were now diveſted of a large Patrimony, deriv'd to them by a long Series of Illuſtrious Anceſtors. In fine, he entail'd upon his Son all the Miſeries that befel him; and left in the Minds of his Subjects thoſe Sparks of Diſcontent, that broke out ſome Years after into a Flame of Civil War, which ended in the Ruin of King *Charles*, and of the Monarchy with him.

His Character.

This Prince, though his Father and Mother were eſteemed the handſomeſt Couple of the Age they liv'd in, was himſelf but a homely Perſon, nor in any of his Features was to be found the leaſt Reſemblance of the Beautiful *Mary Stuart*, or Lord *Darnly*. No Prince had a more liberal Education: and it could not well be otherwiſe, having the celebrated *Buchanan* for his Tutor. He was acquainted with moſt parts of Learning, but valued himſelf upon his Knowledge in Divinity above

above the reſt; in which he writ ſome things that were much eſteem'd at that time. He writ and ſpoke well, but in a Stile that border'd too much upon Pedantry, which was indeed the common Fault of that Age.

As to his Religion, notwithſtanding all his Advances to the Pope and Papiſts upon the account, firſt of the *Spaniſh*, and afterwards the *French* Match, he was really Calviniſt in moſt Points, but that of Church-Government; witneſs ſome of his Books, and his Zeal for the Synod of *Dort*. But as to Epiſcopacy, he ſhew'd ſo much Learning and Reading in his Arguments for it at the Conference of *HamptonCourt*, that Archbiſhop *Whitgift* ſaid, *He was verily perſuaded the King ſpake by the Spirit of God.*

Notwithſtanding his Mother was dethroned to make room for him, and conſequently he could have no Right, but the Conſent of the People while ſhe lived; yet upon all Occaſions he was fond of being thought to have a Divine Right to the Crown. His Courage was much ſuſpected; and ſome would aſcribe his want of it to the Fright his Mother was in upon the Death of her Favourite *David Rizio*. The Troubles of his Youth were various, occaſion'd chiefly by Factions of Great Men that ſtrove who ſhould have the Management of him: but when he came of Age, he ſought all Occaſions to be reveng'd upon ſuch of them as were living, and the Poſterity of thoſe that were dead.

Goury's

Goury's Conſpiracy being in it ſelf ſo improbable a thing, and attended with ſo many inconſiſtent Circumſtances, was disbeliev'd at the time it was ſaid to have been attempted: and Poſterity has ſwallow'd down for a Truth, what their Anceſtors took for a mere Fiction.

He came to the Crown of *England* by Lineal Deſcent, and the Verbal Deſignation of Queen *Elizabeth* upon her Death-bed. And the Conſpiracy wherewith *Cobham* and Sir *Walter Raleigh* were charged to ſet him by the *Engliſh* Throne, was no leſs Myſtery than that of *Goury*'s had been before. The only uncontroverted Treaſon that happen'd in his Reign, was the *Gun-Powder Plot*; and yet the Letter to the Lord *Monteagle*, that pretended to diſcover it, was but a Contrivance of his own; the thing being diſcover'd to him before, by *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, through the means of Monſieur *de Rhony*, after Duke of *Sully*. King *Henry* paid dear for his Friendſhip to King *James*; and there is reaſon to believe that it was upon this account, among others, that a Party of the Church of *Rome* employ'd *Ravillac* to murder that Great Man.

The Gun-powder Plot.

King *James* was equally happy and unhappy in every one of his Children. Prince *Henry* was the Darling of Mankind, and a Youth of vaſt Hopes, and wonderful Virtues; but was too ſoon Man, to be long-liv'd.

The Character of Prince Henry.

liv'd. The Duke of *Sully* being in *England* to congratulate King *James* upon his Acceſſion to the Crown, laid the Foundation of a ſtrict Friendſhip betwixt his Maſter and Prince *Henry*; which was afterwards carried on by Letters and Meſſages, till the Death of that King. Tho' it's a Secret to this day what was the real Deſign of all thoſe vaſt Preparations that were made by *Henry* the Fourth for ſome time before his Death, yet certain it is, thoſe Preparations were ſuch as kept all *Europe* in ſuſpence: and I have ſeen ſome Papers that make it more than propable that Prince *Henry* was not only acquainted with the Secret, but was engaged in the Deſign. But whatever it was, it prov'd abortive, by the Murder of that excellent King juſt at the time when it was to have been declar'd, his Army being ready to march. Prince *Henry* ſurviv'd him but two Years, and dy'd univerſally lamented. The World is very often willing to attribute the untimely Death of Princes to unfair Practices; and it was the general Rumour at that time, that this Prince was poiſon'd. Whatever was in it, there is yet in print a *Sermon* preach'd at St. *James*'s upon the Diſſolution of his Houſhold, that boldly inſinuated ſome ſuch thing: and alſo Sir *Francis Bacon*, Lord Chanceller of *England*, in his Speech at the Trial of the Earl of *Somerſet*, had ſome Reflections upon the Intimacy of that Lord with Sir *Thonas Overbury*, which ſeems to point

point that way; inſomuch that there were ſeveral Expreſſions left out of the printed Copy that were in the Speech. But after all, there is an account in print of what was obſervable upon the opening of Prince *Henry*'s Body, under the Hand of Sir *Theodore Mayerne*, and five other Phyſicians, from which there can be no Inference drawn, that he was poiſon'd.

Appendix, *Numb.* 5. *p.* 233.

Of the Q. of Bohemia.

The ſecond of King *James*'s Children was the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, married to the Elector Palatine, who was afterwards to his ruin elected King of *Bohemia*. It is hard to ſay whether the Virtues of this Lady, or her Misfortunes, were greater: for as ſhe was one of the beſt of Women, ſhe may be likewiſe reckon'd in the number of the moſt unfortunate. King *James* thought to retrieve his Son-in-law's loſt Fortune by the way of Treaty; but in that, and in every thing elſe, the Houſe of *Auſtria* outwitted him: ſo that the poor Prince Palatine gain'd nothing by his Alliance with *England*, but the hard Fate to be abandon'd by thoſe whoſe Honour and Intereſt it was to ſupport him. Nor had the Crown of *England* any Share in the Honour of re-eſtabliſhing the Palatine Family, which happen'd thirty Years after; for at the time of the Treaty of *Munſter*, when that matter was ſetled, K. *Charles* the Firſt was ſo far from being in a condition to mediate for his Friends,

Friends, that he was himſelf a Priſoner to thoſe very Enemies, that in a few Months after the ſigning of that Treaty, took away his Life. Of whom, being the youngeſt of K. *James*'s Children, and of his Misfortunes, there will be too much occaſion to ſpeak in the following Sheets.

But to return to K. *James*, as he was equally happy and unhappy in his Children, he was for the moſt part unhappy in his Favourites; being oblig'd to abandon one upon the account of *Overbury*'s Murder; and coming to hate another the latter part of his Life, as much as he had ever loved him before.

The Spaniſh *Match.*

In order to obtain of the Emperor the Reſtoration of his Son-in-Law, he was wheedled into that inglorious Counſel of ſending the Prince into *Spain* for a Match that was either never deſign'd him, or too late: and it was more owing to *Philip* the Third's Generoſity, than to K. *James*'s Politicks, that he ever ſaw *England* again. To this Friendſhip with *Spain* he ſacrific'd his own Honour, with the Life of that excellent Perſon Sir *Walter Raleigh*. This Gentleman, after fourteen Years Impriſonment in the *Tower*, upon the account of a myſterious Treaſon, during which time he did oblige the World with one of the beſt Hiſtories that ever was writ, came to be ſet at Liberty, and was ſent with an ample Commiſſion, which was judg'd by Lawyers equivalent to a Pardon, to diſcover and take

Poſſeſſion of new Countries and Mines in *America*. He gave King *James* the Plan of his Deſign, and of the Place he was to land at, which prov'd the Ruin of that Enterprize; for before he could get ready to ſail from *England*, the Court of *Spain* had a Copy of it, which Sir *Walter Raleigh* found to his ſad Experience was got to *America* before him, and had thereby enabled the *Spaniards* to baffle the Attempt. At his return, to pleaſe the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, who had got a mighty aſcendant over King *James*, this laſt of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Favourites loſt his Head upon the former Sentence of Treaſon, there being no other way to reach it.

K. James's Conduct in the Buſineſs of the Palatinate.

All our Hiſtories have mention'd at large the Buſineſs of the *Spaniſh* Match; but few, or none, King *James*'s Conduct in that of the *Palatinate*; which can hardly be expreſs'd under a ſofter name than one continued Infatuation on his part. The Account of this Matter is writ with the greateſt Exactneſs, though as favourably for King *James* as was poſſible, by the learned *Spanhemius* in his Hiſtory of *Louyſe Juliane* Electrice Palatine, Daughter of *William* Prince of *Orange*, and Mother to the King of *Bohemia*, who out-liv'd her Son, and was one of the greateſt Patterns of Virtue that any Age has produc'd. Referring the Reader to the Book it ſelf, I ſhall only mention a few things out of it.

To

To make this Book and the Matter of the *Palatinate* better underſtood, it's to be remembred, That the Elector, after his Marriage with King *James*'s Daughter, was elected King of *Bohemia*, as the moſt Powerful Prince, at that time, of the Empire, to oppoſe the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and protect the Liberty of that Kingdom. He was ſcarce crown'd, but he loſt both his new Kingdom, and his antient Inheritance of the *Palatinate*, by the Battle of *Prague*; where his Army was entirely defeated, and he himſelf forced to fly, leaving *Bohemia* and the *Palatinate* both a Prey to the Emperor.

Though the Parliament of *England* was zealous to reſtore the Palatine Family by force of Arms, as the moſt effectual means to do it, and had offer'd great Supplies to that purpoſe; yet King *James* was ſo lull'd aſleep, with the Inſinuations of *Gundomar*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, that he could be brought to no other Methods but thoſe of Treaty. While he was ſending one Embaſſy after another to *Vienna* and *Bruſſels*, the poor King of *Bohemia* ſeeing how little was to be expected from them, ventur'd to try his Fortune once more in the *Palatinate*; and with the Aſſiſtance of Count *Mansfield* and the Duke of *Brunſwick*, beat the *Imperialiſts* in ſeveral Rencounters, and repoſſeſs'd himſelf of ſeveral Towns. But when he was in a fair way to be Maſter of the whole, he was obliged to retire, and diſband his Army, merely to pleaſe King

James, who was poſſeſs'd of this wild Notion, *That to lay down his Arms was the only way to get good Terms from the Emperor.* Upon which a Treaty was ſet afoot at *Bruſſels*, where King *James* conſented by way of Preliminary, That his Son-in-Law ſhould not only wave the Title of the King of *Bohemia*, but that of Elector Palatine, which had not hitherto been queſtion'd, and which the poor Prince was forc'd to comply with.

This Treaty, after a great many other Mortifications put upon the Palatine Family, and upon King *James* himſelf, was by a Contrivance of the Emperor transferr'd to *Ratiſbon*, and came to nothing at laſt, as all the other Treaties had done. But while the *Imperialiſts* were thus amuſing King *James* with Terms of Accommodation; and that the King of *Bohemia* had diſarm'd himſelf to pleaſe his Father-in-Law, *Heidelburgh*, and all the other Places he had recovered before, together with the reſt of the *Palatinate*, were all ſeiz'd by the Emperor, except only *Frankendale*, which continued to make a vigorous Reſiſtance. It would look like a Dream, to imagine that King *James* ſhould oblige his Son-in-Law to quit this Place alſo, the only one left him of his whole Country, and that as the only effectual way to get back all the reſt: Yet it's true he did ſo, and that at the very time that the Emperor had actually transferr'd the Electoral Dignity from the Palatine Family to the Houſe of *Bavaria*.

The Business of Frankendale.

For *Frankendale* being a Town then of great Strength, and the *Spaniards* lying expos'd to the daily Excursions of its Garrison, they found a way to trick King *James* out of it in this manner. *Gundomar* represents to him, That it being the only place left in the *Palatinate*, it could not hold out much longer; and that there was but one way to save it for his Son-in-Law, which was, to put it into the hands of the Governor of *Flanders* for some time, till things might be brought to an Accommodation by the Treaty then on foot; and if there should happen any Interruption in it, then the Town should be rendred back to King *James*, for the use of his Son-in-Law, in the same Condition, together with a free Passage for fifteen hundred Foot, and two hundred Horse, to take possession of it, and six Months Provision.

King *James* being willing to do any thing rather than break with *Spain*, agreed to this strange Proposition, and *Frankendale* was delivered up to the Governor of *Flanders* for fifteen Months, under these Conditions. But the Treaty being once more broke off, and the time elaps'd, when King *James* demanded that *Frankendale* should be restored, it was told him, That he might have the Town; but by the Terms of the Agreement, he was to have a Passage for his Troops through the *Spanish Low-Countries*; but that there

there was no Article, That he ſhould have a Paſſage through any other Places that were in their poſſeſſion in *Germany*. And thus King *James* was once more egregiouſly impos'd upon; for there was no way to come at the Town, but through Parts of *Germany* that were in the hands of *Spain*: and ſo the *Spaniards* continued Maſters of *Frankendale*.

When ſeveral other Princes were ſome time after upon entring into a League for Reſtitution of the *Palatinate*, and the Houſe of *Auſtria* was beginning to doubt the Succeſs, *Gundomar* play'd another Engine to break their Meaſures, by propoſing a Match with the Infanta of *Spain* for the Prince of *Wales*, as the eaſieſt and ſureſt way to reſtore the Palatine Family: which, like all the reſt, was only to amuſe King *James*, and was equally unſucceſsful.

It were too long to give the Detail of King *James*'s Conduct in this Affair, which was all of a piece. The Author ſums up the Ills that attended it, in this, That thereby the *Proteſtant Religion was entirely rooted out of* Bohemia, *the Electoral Dignity transferr'd from the Palatine Family*, *the* Palatinate *it ſelf loſt*, *the Liberty of* Germany *overthrown*; and which he mentions with a ſenſible Regret, *the famous Library of* Heidelburgh *was carried to* Rome, *to the irreparable Prejudice of Learning*.

So that *Gundomar* had good reaſon to ſay, in one of his Letters to the Duke of *Lerma*, printed in the Hiſtory of that Duke's Life, *That he had lulled King* James *ſo faſt aſleep, that he hoped neither the Cries of his Daughter nor her Children, nor the repeated Sollicitations of his Parliament and Subjects in their behalf, ſhould be able to awaken him.*

There are two Paſſages more very obſervable in this Author. The Court of *Spain* finding King *James* had broke off the *Spaniſh* Match, and was brought to ſee how egregiouſly he had been abus'd by it; they ventur'd upon a bold Attempt to trouble his Affairs, by whiſpering in his Ears ſome things to make him jealous of his Son: And that a good while after, when King *Charles* and his Parliament were entring upon vigorous Meaſures to eſpouſe the Palatine Cauſe, they found ways to ſow Diviſions between him and his People, that in progreſs of time broke out into a Civil War. The latter needs no Commentary; and the former is ſufficiently explain'd, by what a late Author has writ in the Life of Biſhop *Williams*, concerning that Prelate's being inſtrumental in making up ſome ſecret Differences betwixt King *James* and his Son the Prince of *Wales*, a little before King *James*'s Death. *Sphanhemius* ſums up what relates to this Affair, with this Remark, *That never Prince was more oblig'd to a Siſter, than King* Charles *the Firſt was to the Queen*

Hacket's *Life of Bp.* Williams.

Queen of Bohemia; *since it was only the Consideration of her and her Children, who were then the next Heirs after him to the Crown of* England, *that prevail'd with the Court of* Spain *to permit him to see* England *again.*

In the Interdict of Venice.

As in most foreign Transactions King *James* was unhappy; so more particularly in the Difference between Pope *Paul* V. and the *Venetians*. There appear'd at that time a wonderful Disposition in that State to work a Reformation in the Church, and throw off the Papal Yoke. In order to advance it, King *James* dispatch'd Sir *Henry Wotton* his Ambassador to *Venice:* and hearing that *Spain* had declared for the Pope, he declar'd for the *Venetians*; and acquainted *Justiniani*, their Ambassador in *England*, That he would not only assist them with all the Forces of his Kingdom, but engage all his Allies in their Defence. At Sir *Henry Wotton*'s Arrival, the Breach between the Pope and the Republick was brought very near a Crisis: so that a total Separation was expected not only from the Court, but the Church of *Rome*; which was set on by the Learned *Padre Paulo*, and the Seven Divines of the State, with much Zeal, and conducted with as great Prudence. The Ambassador at his Audience offer'd all possible Assistance in his Master's Name, and accus'd the Pope and Papacy of being the chief Authors of all the Mischiefs in Christendom. This was re-

ceived with great Deference and Reſpect to King *James:* And when the Pope's Nuncio objected, that K. *James* was not a Catholick, and ſo was not to be relied upon; the Doge took him up briskly, and told him, *That the King of* England *believ'd in Jeſus Chriſt, but he did not know in whom ſome others believ'd.* King *James* had ſent with *Wotton* his Premonition to all Chriſtian Princes and States, tranſlated into *Latin*, to be preſented to the Senate; which *Padre Paulo* and the other Divines preſs'd might be done at his firſt Audience; telling him, they were confident it would have a very good effect. The Ambaſſador could not be prevail'd with; alledging he had poſitive Orders to wait till St. *James*'s Day, which was not far off. This Conceit of preſenting King *James*'s Book on St. *James*'s Day, ſpoil'd all; for before that Day came, the Difference was made up, and that happy Opportunity loſt. So that when he had his Audience on St. *James*'s Day, and had preſented the Book, all the Anſwer he got, was, *That they thank'd the King of* England *for his good will, but they were now reconcil'd to the Pope, and that therefore they were reſolv'd not to admit of any Change in their Religion, according to their Agreement with the Court of* Rome. How little Reputation he acquir'd in the Matter of the *Venetian* Interdict, appears yet more plainly in this, That in all the numerous Collections we have of Letters that paſs'd on that Subject between the Cardinals

dinals of *Joyeuſe* and *Perron*, the Marquiſs *de Freſnes* and *Henry* IV. there is not the leaſt notice taken of King *James* or his Embaſſy.

It may not be impertinent in this place, to ſay ſomething of that Convocation that was held in the beginning of this King's Reign; which had never been taken notice of in Hiſtory, if it were not for the uſe that was made of it in our late Debates about the Lawfulneſs of the Oaths to his preſent Majeſty. This Convocation goes under the name of *Overal*'s Convocation, and has been of late Years often mentioned in Print upon that account. And ſince a very Learned Divine has told us upon a ſolemn Occaſion, That it was the Canons of this Convocation that firſt enlightned his Eyes, and perſuaded him of the Lawfulneſs of the Oaths to his Majeſty; I ſhall only take notice of a few things about them. *Dr.* Sherlock.

It's very probable, that this Convocation was call'd, to clear ſome Doubt that King *James* might have had, about the Lawfulneſs of the *Hollanders* their throwing off the Monarchy of *Spain*, and their withdrawing, for good and all, their Allegiance to that Crown: Which was the great Matter then in agitation in moſt Courts of Chriſtendom.

It appears plainly by ſome of thoſe Canons, that the high flown Notions of Prerogative and Abſolute Obedience, which came afterwards into faſhion, were not ſo much

known at that time: at leaſt, the Clergy were not of that opinion. It's true, this was the firſt time that the Diſtinction of a King *de jure* and *de facto* was ever mention'd as a Point of Divinity, or a Doctrine of the Church: though it had been taken notice of before, and that but once, as a Matter of Law, in an Act of Parliament of *Henry* VII. But theſe Canons did never receive the Royal Approbation, and therefore are in the ſame caſe as if they had never been.

King *James* thought theſe Points too nice to be much touch'd upon, and was highly diſpleas'd with the Members of that Convocation for meddling in Matters which he thought were without their Sphere. Thereupon he writ that angry Letter to Dr. *Abbot* (afterwards Biſhop of *Sarum*) the Original of which it was my fortune to fall upon, and to publiſh upon another occaſion. It's hoped the Reader will not be diſpleas'd to read it again: And it runs thus.

Good Doctor Abbot,

I *Cannot abſtain to give you my Judgment of your Proceedings in your Convocation, as you call it; and both as* Rex in ſolio, *and* unus Gregis in Eccleſia, *I am doubly concerned. My Title to the Crown no body calls in queſtion, but they that neither love you nor me; and you gueſs whom I mean. All that you and your Brethren have ſaid of a King in Poſſeſſion (for that Word I tell you, is no worſe than that you made uſe of in,*

in your Canon) concerns not me at all; I am the next Heir, and the Crown is mine by all Rights you can name, but that of Conqueſt; and Mr. Solicitor has ſufficiently expreſs'd my own Thoughts concerning the Nature of Kingſhip in general, and concerning the Nature of it, ut in mea perſona: *And I believe you were all of his Opinion; at leaſt, none of you ſaid ought contrary to it, at the time he ſpake to you from me. But you know all of you, as I think, that my Reaſon of calling you together, was to give your Judgments how far a Chriſtian, and a Proteſtant King, may concur to aſſiſt his Neighbours to ſhake off their Obedience to their once Sovereign, upon the account of Oppreſſion, Tyranny, or what elſe you like to name it. In the late Queen's time this Kingdom was very free in aſſiſting the* Hollanders *both with Arms and Advice. And none of your Coat ever told me, that any ſcrupled about it in her Reign. Upon my coming to* England, *you may know that it came from ſome of your ſelves to raiſe Scruples about this matter. And albeit I have often told my Mind concerning* Jus Regium in Subditos, *as in* May *laſt in the* Star-Chamber, *upon the occaſion of* Hales *his Pamphlet, yet I never took any notice of theſe Scruples, till the Affairs of* Spain *and* Holland *forc'd me to it. All my Neighbours call on me to concur in the Treaty between* Holland *and* Spain; *and the Honour of the Nation will not ſuffer the* Hollanders *to be abandoned, eſpecially after ſo much Money and Men ſpent in their Quarrel: Therefore I was of the mind to call my Clergy*

together, to ſatisfy not ſo much me, as the World about us, of the Juſtneſs of my owning the Hollanders *at this time. This I needed not have done; and you have forced me to ſay, I wiſh I had not. You have dipped too deep in what all Kings reſerve among the* Arcana Imperii. *And whatever Averſion you may profeſs againſt God's being the Author of Sin, you have ſtumbled upon the Threſhold of that Opinion, in ſaying upon the matter, that even Tyranny is God's Authority, and ſhould be reverenc'd as ſuch. If the King of* Spain *ſhould return to claim his old Pontifical Right to my Kingdom, you leave me to ſeek for others to fight for it: For you tell us upon the matter beforehand, his Authority is God's Authority, if he prevail.*

Thus far the Secretary's Hand, as I take it; the reſt follows in the King's own Hand thus: *Mr. Doctor, I have no time to expreſs my mind farther in this thorny buſineſs. I ſhall give you my Orders about it by Mr. Sollicitor; and until then meddle no more in it, for they are Edge-Tools, or rather like that Weapon that's ſaid to cut with the one edge, and cure with the other. I commit you to God's Protection, good Doctor* Abbot, *and reſt*

Your good Friend,

James R.

To have done with King *James*; it was ſaid, that he divided his time betwixt his Standiſh,

Standiſh, his Bottle, and his Hunting. The laſt had his fair Weather, the two former his dull and cloudy; and therefore that it was no wonder his Writings were ſo variable, and that after he had pleaded for Witchcraft, and the Pope's being Antichriſt, *Somerſet*'s Affair and the *Spaniſh* Match cur'd him of both. After having enjoy'd for the moſt part of his Life, a firm Health, he dy'd of a Quartan Ague in the fifty ninth Year of his Age, and with ſuch ſuſpicious Circumſtances, as gave occaſion of Enquiry into the manner of his Death, in the two firſt Parliaments that were call'd by his Son; all which came to nothing, by reaſon of their ſudden Diſſolutions.

The Reign of King Charles *the Firſt.*

King *Charles* the Firſt came to the Crown under all the Diſadvantages that have been mention'd; and yet the Nation might have hop'd that their Condition would be mended under a Prince of ſo much Virtue, as indeed he was, if the Seeds of Diſcontent, which were ſown in his Father's time, had not every day taken deeper Root, and acquir'd new Growth, thro' the ill Management of his Miniſters, rather than any wilful Errors of his own.

Biſhop Laud.

Some of them drove ſo faſt, that it was no wonder the Wheels and Chariot broke; and it was in great part to the indiſcreet Zeal of a mitred Head, that had got an aſcendant

over his Master's Conscience and Counsels, that both the Monarchy and Hierarchy ow'd afterwards their Fall.

The Division betwixt Archbishop Abbot *and Bishop* Laud.

To trace this matter a little higher: There arose in the preceding Reign two opposite Parties in the Church, which became now more than ever exasperated against each other; the one headed by Archbishop *Abbot*, and the other by Bishop *Laud*. *Abbot* was a Person of wonderful Temper and Moderation, and in all his Conduct shew'd an Unwillingness to stretch the Act of Uniformity beyond what was absolutely necessary for the Peace of the Church, or the Prerogative of the Crown, any further than conduc'd to the Good of the State. Being not well turn'd for a Court, tho' otherwise of considerable Learning and genteel Education, he either could not or would not stoop to the Humour of the Times; and now and then, by an unseasonable Stiffness, gave occasion to his Enemies to represent him as not well inclin'd to the Prerogative, or too much addicted to a popular Interest, and therefore not fit to be employ'd in Matters of Government. Upon the other hand, Bishop *Laud*, as he was a Man of greater Learning, and yet greater Ambition and natural Parts, so he understood nicely the Art of pleasing a Court; and finding no surer way to raise himself to the first Dignities of the Church, than by acting a quite contrary

contrary part to that of Archbiſhop *Abbot*, he went into every thing that ſeem'd to favour the Prerogative of the Crown, or enforce an Abſolute Obedience upon the Subject.

The King's urgent Neceſſities, and the backwardneſs of the Parliament to ſupply them, had forced him upon unwarrantable Methods of raiſing Money; and the readineſs the Roman Catholicks expreſs'd to aſſiſt him in his Wants, did beget in him at firſt a Tenderneſs towards them, and afterwards a Truſt and Confidence in them: which was unhappily miſtaken by his other Subjects, as if he inclined to their Religion.

Among other means of raiſing Money, that of Loan was fallen upon; which met with great Difficulties, and was generally taken to be illegal. One *Sibthorp*, an obſcure Perſon, in a Sermon preach'd at the Aſſizes at *Northampton*, would make his Court by aſſerting not only the Lawfulneſs of this way of impoſing Money by Loan, but that it was the indiſpenſible Duty of the Subject to comply with it. At the ſame time Dr. *Manwaring*, another Divine, preach'd two Sermons before the King at *Whitehall*, in which he advanc'd theſe Doctrines, *viz.* *That the King is not bound to obſerve the Laws of the Realm, concerning the Subjects Rights and Liberties; but that his Royal Word and Command in impoſing Loans and Taxes without Conſent of Parliament, does oblige the Subject's Conſcience, upon pain of eternal Damnation. That*

thoſe

thoſe who refus'd to pay this Loan, did offend againſt the Law of God, and became guilty of Impiety, Diſloyalty, and Rebellion. And that the Authority of Parliaments is not neceſſary for raiſing of Aids and Subſidies.

Every body knew *Abbot* was averſe to ſuch Doctrines; and to ſeek an Advantage againſt him, *Sibthorp*'s Sermon, with a Dedication to the King, was ſent him by Order of his Majeſty to licenſe. *Abbot* refus'd, and gave his Reaſons in Writing; which Biſhop *Laud* anſwer'd, and with his own Hand licens'd both *Sibthorp*'s and *Manwaring*'s Sermons. Upon this Archbiſhop *Abbot* was confin'd to his Country Houſe, and ſuſpended from his Function; the Adminiſtration of which was committed to Biſhop *Laud*, and ſome others of his Recommendation.

Archbiſhop *Abbot* died in Diſgrace, and was ſucceeded in the See of *Canterbury* by Biſhop *Laud*, while in the mean time things went on from bad to worſe, and haſten'd to a *Criſis*. The two firſt Parliaments King *Charles* had call'd, preſſing him hard for Redreſs of Grievances, and puſhing on the Reſentments begun in the preceding Reign; he was prevail'd with not only to diſſolve them, but to leave the Nation without Parliaments for twelve Years together; and all this contrary to the Advice of ſome of the beſt and wiſeſt Men about him, who foreſaw the ill conſequences that might follow,

low, if ever any unlucky Juncture of Affairs should necessitate him to call one.

The Rise of King Charles's Troubles.

Such a Juncture fell out, and the worst that could be; the manner thus: The *Scots* had been of a long Time sour'd by the Encroachments they said were made upon their Rights and Liberties, and particularly in the Matter of Church-Government. Archbishop *Laud*'s Zeal for an Uniformity between the two Nations in point of Liturgy, prov'd the fatal Torch that put the two Kingdoms into a Flame. And it was the sooner kindled, there being so much Fuel laid up for many Years, that the least Spark was enough to set Fire to the Pile.

The Scotch *Troubles.*

In the Year 1637, the *Scots* had not only in a tumultuous Manner refus'd the Liturgy that was sent them from *England*, of Archbishop *Laud*'s composing; but had afterwards assum'd to themselves the Liberty and Power of holding a General Assembly of their Church, and in it to abolish Episcopacy, and do several other things that were judg'd inconsistent with the Duty of Subjects: upon which they were declar'd *Rebels*, and King *Charles* thought his Honour was concern'd to reduce them to Obedience by the Sword.

Instead of venturing to call a Parliament, to enable him to prosecute this Design, he was necessitated to levy Money another way. Great Sums were rais'd by Loan and Benevolence,

volence, to which the *Roman* Catholicks and the Clergy of *Laud*'s Faction contributed moſt. The King thus ſupplied, march'd to the North with a gallant Army; and the *Scots* came as far as the Borders in a Poſture of Defence. To prevent matters coming to Extremity, the *Scots* preſented his Majeſty with their humble Supplication and Remonſtrance, ſetting forth *their inviolable Fidelity to the Crown; and that they deſir'd nothing more, but the peaceable Enjoyment of their Religion and Liberties; and that all things might be determin'd and ſettled by a free Parliament, and General Aſſembly.* At length, through the Interceſſion of the moderate Party about the King, and ſome of the higheſt Rank in both Kingdoms, his Majeſty was pleas'd to comply with the Deſires of the *Scots*, by a ſolemn Pacification, ſign'd in view of both Armies near *Berwick* in *June* 1638.

This Treaty was but ſhort-liv'd, and but ill obſerved on either ſide. The ſame Men that counſell'd the King to the firſt, puſh'd him on to a ſecond War againſt the *Scots*. Parliaments had been now diſcontinu'd for ſome Years together, and there appear'd no great Inclination in the King to call any more, if this emergent occaſion had not fallen out. But his preſſing Neceſſities, and this new War, oblig'd him once more to try the Affections of his People in a Parliamentary Way.

Accord-

Accordingly a Parliament meets in *April* 1640, at the Opening of which the King acquainted them *with the Affronts he had receiv'd from the* Scots, *and demanded a Supply to reduce them to their Duty by force of Arms.* Both Houſes ſhew'd a Willingneſs to relieve the King's Wants, and offer'd him a conſiderable Supply; but with this Condition, *That their Grievances might be firſt redreſs'd*; which had ſwell'd up to a conſiderable Bulk ſince the laſt Diſſolution. Not only ſo, but the *Scots* had Friends enough in the Parliament to hinder any great matter to be done againſt them; and the greater Part both of Lords and Commons were but little inclin'd to a War of Archbiſhop *Laud*'s kindling.

The King being thus diſappointed, diſſolv'd this Parliament as he had done the reſt, when they had ſcarce ſat a Month; and made what ſhifts he could to raiſe a new Army againſt the *Scots*. They upon the other hand being reſolv'd not to be behind in their Preparations, enter'd into *England* with a numerous Army, compos'd for the moſt Part of Veteran Officers and Troops, that had ſerv'd in *Germany* under *Guſtavus Adolphus*; and taking *Berwick* and *Newcaſtle*, puſh'd their way as far as *Durham*.

King *Charles* came in Perſon to *York*, and there found himſelf inviron'd with perplexing Difficulties on all hands: The Nobility and Gentry that attended him, expreſs'd on all occaſions their diſlike of the Cauſe, and the

the War they were engag'd in. The *Scots* ſtood firm to their Ground, being fluſh'd with Succeſs: And the King was follow'd from the South with Petitions from the City of *London*, from ſeveral Counties, and from a conſiderable number of Lords, deſiring him *to call a Parliament, as the only effectual Means to quiet the Minds of the People, and compoſe the preſent War without Bloodſhed.*

To extricate himſelf out of this Labyrinth, King *Charles* ſummon'd the *Great Council of Peers* to meet at *York*, to conſult what was fit to be done in this Juncture; who advis'd him unanimouſly to enter into a Treaty with the *Scots* at *Rippon*, and to ſummon a Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter*; with both which Advices the King comply'd, and immediately iſſued out Writs for a Parliament to ſit down in *November* 1640. and adjourn'd the Treaty with the *Scots* to *London*.

No Age ever produc'd greater Men than thoſe that ſat in this Parliament: They had ſufficient Abilities and Inclinations to have render'd the King and their Country happy, if *England* had not been through a Chain of concurring Accidents ripen'd for Deſtruction.

The Parliament 1641.

At their ſitting down, a Scene of Grievances under which the Nation had long groan'd, was laid open, and all Topicks made uſe of to paint them out in the livelieſt Colours. The many Cruelties and illegal Practices of the Star-Chamber, and High-Commiſſion Court, that

that had alienated peoples Minds from the Hierachy, were now inſiſted on, to throw down thoſe two Arbitrary Tribunals; and with them, in ſome time after, the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, and at length Epiſcopacy it ſelf out of the Church. It was not a few of either Houſe, but indeed all the great Patriots, that concurred at firſt to make enquiry into the Grievances of this Reign. Sir *Edward Hide*, afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*, and Lord Chancellor of *England*; the Lord *Digby*; the Lord *Falkland*; the Lord *Capell*; Mr. *Grimſtone*, who was choſen afterward Speaker of the Houſe of Commons that brought in King *Charles* the Second, and was Maſter of the Rolls; Mr. *Holles*, ſince Lord *Holles*, all which ſuffer'd afterwards on the King's ſide; and in general, moſt of thoſe that took the King's part in the ſucceeding War, were the Men that appear'd with the greateſt Zeal for the Redreſs of Grievances, and made the ſharpeſt Speeches upon thoſe Subjects. The Intentions of thoſe Gentlemen were certainly noble and juſt, and tended to the equal advantage of King and People: but the Fate of *England* urg'd on its own Ruin ſtep by ſtep, till an open Rupture between the King and Parliament made the Gap too wide ever to be made up again.

Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Earl of *Strafford*, and Dr. *Laud*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, had too great a ſhare in the Miniſtry, to eſcape being

being cenſur'd, and they were the firſt that felt the Effects of a popular Hatred. Theſe two Gentlemen, and *James* Duke of *Hamilton*, firſt advis'd King *Charles* to call this Parliament; and all three fell by it, though not at the ſame time.

The Fall and Character of the Earl of Strafford.

The Earl of *Strafford* was a Gentleman of extraordinary Parts, a great Orator, and yet a greater Stateſman: He made a conſiderable Figure in the firſt three Parliaments of King *Charles*; and no Man appear'd with greater Zeal againſt Ship-money, Tunnage and Poundage, and other Taxes illegally impos'd upon the Subject. The Court brought him off, and preferr'd him to great Honours and Places, which loſt him his former Friends, and made the Breach irreconcilable. There had been a long and intimate Friendſhip betwixt Mr. *Pym* and him, and they had gone Hand in Hand in every thing in the Houſe of Commons. But when Sir *Thomas Wentworth* was upon making his Peace with the Court, he ſent to *Pym* to meet him alone at *Greenwich*; where he began in a ſet Speech to ſound Mr. *Pym* about the Dangers they were like to run by the Courſes they were in; and what Advantages they might have, if they would but liſten to ſome Offers would probably be made them from the Court. *Pym* underſtanding his drift, ſtopt him ſhort with this Expreſſion, *You need not uſe all this*

Art

Art to tell me that you have a mind to leave us: But remember what I tell you, you are going to be undone; and remember, that tho' you leave us now, I will never leave you while your Head is upon your Shoulders. He was as good as his word, for it was *Pym* that firſt accus'd him of High Treaſon in the Houſe of Commons, he carried up his Impeachment to the Houſe of Lords, and was the chief Manager of his Trial, and Bill of Attainder.

There never was a more ſolemn Trial than that of the Earl of *Strafford*, whether we conſider the Accuſers or the Perſon accus'd, the Accuſation or the Defence. As in every thing elſe, ſo in this more particularly, he expreſs'd a wonderful Preſence of Mind, and a vaſt Compaſs of Thought, with ſuch nervous and moving Flights of Eloquence, as came nothing ſhort of the moſt celebrated Pieces of Antiquity. This did manifeſtly appear from his ſumming up the long Anſwer he made *ex tempore* to every one of the Articles againſt him, with this pathetick Concluſion: *My Lords*, ſaith he, *I have troubled you longer than I ſhould have done, were it not for the Intereſt of theſe dear Pledges a Saint in Heaven hath left me.* At this word he ſtopp'd, pointing to his Children that ſtood by him, and dropt ſome Tears; then went on, *What I forfeit for myſelf is nothing, but that my Indiſcretion ſhould extend to my Poſterity, woundeth me to*

the

the very Soul. You will pardon my Infirmity; ſomething I ſhould have added, but am not able, therefore let it paſs. And now, my Lords, for my ſelf, I have been by the Bleſſing of God taught, That the Afflictions of this preſent Life are not to be compar'd to that eternal weight of Glory which ſhall be reveal'd hereafter: And ſo, my Lords, even ſo, with all Tranquillity of Mind, I freely ſubmit my ſelf to your Judgment; and whether that Judgment be of Life or Death, Te Deum laudamus.

It's believ'd that King *Charles*'s appearing ſo heartily for him, did him no good with the Houſe of Commons; and it's confidently ſaid, that he wrote his Majeſty a Letter from the *Tower*, praying him not to intercede in his Affair; and that his not ſeeming to be concern'd in it would be the beſt Method to calm the Rage of his Enemies. But notwithſtanding this Caution, the King came to the Houſe of Lords, and ſending for the Houſe of Commons, made a warm Speech in favour of the Earl; which ſome of his Friends took for ſo good News, that they went ſtrait from *Weſtminſter* to give him an account of it: *Strafford* receiv'd it as his Doom, and told them, *The King's Kindneſs had ruin'd him, and that he had little elſe now to do, but to prepare himſelf for Death.*

As King *Charles* was miſtaken in his Interceſſion for the Earl of *Strafford*, ſo was the Earl himſelf much more, in neglecting the

the Advice of his Friends againſt his coming up to this Parliament. It was eaſy to foreſee there was ſomething deſign'd to his prejudice, and he had fair warning given him not to come up at that time, at leaſt till he ſaw how matters would go. He had two plauſible Pretences for his Abſence, if he had pleas'd to make uſe of them; the neceſſity of his Preſence in *Ireland*, where he was Lord Lieutenant; or in the *North* of *England*, where he was Lieutenant General of the Army that had been rais'd againſt the *Scots*. But being too confident, not only of the King's Favour and his Intereſt among the Lords, but of the good Effects an humble honey Speech might have with the Houſe of Commons (to uſe his own words) he came late at night to Town, and took his Place next morning in the Houſe of Lords, with an Intention to ask leave that very day to go down to the Houſe of Commons, to clear himſelf of the Miſrepreſentations he lay under.

Mr. *Pym* hearing he was come, mov'd to have the Doors lock'd, and the Keys laid upon the Table, leſt any Member ſhould give Intelligence of what they were upon: Which being done, he accus'd the Earl of *Strafford* of High Treaſon, and an Impeachment was immediately drawn up, and agreed to by the Houſe. In the mean time it fell out unluckily for the Earl of *Strafford*, that at his coming into the Houſe of Lords,

they

they were upon a Debate that took them up a conſiderable time; and while he was waiting till that was over, the Commons came up with their Impeachment.

As the Earl was ſtrangely unfortunate in moſt things that befel him in the latter Period of his Life, he was no leſs in the very Opinion of the King himſelf, and thoſe others that did all they could to ſave his Life: For the King in the Speech he made to both Houſes in his Favour, was pleas'd to ſay, *That he did not think my Lord* Strafford *fit hereafter to ſerve him or the Commonwealth in any Place of Truſt, no not ſo much as that of a Conſtable.* And the Lord *Digby*, in the Speech he made in the Houſe of Commons againſt the Bill of Attainder, for which, among other things, he was forc'd to fly, treats the Earl in yet much harſher Terms: *The Name of the Earl of* Strafford (ſays he) *is a Name of Hatred in the preſent Age by his Practices, and fit to be made a Terror to future Ages by his Puniſhment. I am ſtill the ſame in my Opinions and Affections as to the Earl of* Strafford (continues he after) *I believe him to be the moſt dangerous Miniſter, the moſt inſupportable to free Subjects that can be character'd. I believe his Practices in themſelves as high, as tyrannical, as any Subject ever ventur'd upon; and the Malignity of them highly aggravated by thoſe rare Qualities of his, whereof God has given him the Uſe, but the Devil the Application. In a word* (adds

the Lord *Digby*) *I believe him ſtill that Grand Apoſtate to the Commonwealth, who muſt not expect to be pardon'd in this World, till he be diſpatch'd into the other: And yet let me tell you, Mr.* Speaker, *my Hand muſt not be at that Diſpatch.* Thus far a Nobleman that was intirely in the King's Intereſt, and for his Zeal to the Royal Cauſe became the moſt obnoxious to the Parliament.

After all, there ſeems to have been ſome Miſtake about the main Article in his Accuſation, of his *adviſing the King to bring over the Army from* Ireland *to reduce* England; which contributed more to the undoing of this Miniſter, than all the reſt: For the Proof of this Article being only words contain'd in Mr. Secretary *Vane*'s Notes (which are plac'd in the Appendix) and ſaid to be ſpoke at the Council-Table, they do naturally refer to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and not to *England*; the thing then under Debate, being how to reduce *Scotland*. And though Secretary *Vane* ſwore to the Truth of his Notes, yet it was after ſuch a Manner, as left the Matter ſtill more dubious: And though he had ſworn more poſitively, it was but the Teſtimony of one Witneſs, and that contradicted by four Lords, who were then preſent in Council, and who declar'd upon their Honours, *That they did not remember they heard the Earl of* Strafford *ſpeak thoſe Words.*

Appendix, *Num.* 6. *p.* 234.

I cannot leave the Earl of *Strafford*, without taking Notice of a ſilly Miſtake that has gain'd ſome Credit in the World, as if the Bill of Attainder againſt him was of ſo extraordinary a Nature, and ſo much out of all the known Methods of Juſtice, that the Legiſlators themſelves were oblig'd to inſert a Clauſe into the Body of it, *That it ſhould never be drawn into Precedent.* Whereas that Clauſe does expreſly relate only to Judges in inferior Courts; and is conceiv'd in the following Words: *Provided, That no Judge or Judges, Juſtice or Juſtices whatſoever, ſhall adjudge or interpret any Act or Thing to be Treaſon, nor hear or determine any Treaſon, in any other manner than he or they ſhould or ought to have done, before the making of this Act.*

As Archbiſhop *Laud* was nothing inferior to the Earl of *Strafford* in Parts, and much his ſuperior in Learning; ſo it is as hard to determine which of the two made a nobler Defence at their Trial. The Fate of the former has been the ſame with that of moſt great Men, to be repreſented to Poſterity in Extremes; for we have nothing writ of him, but what's either Panegyrick, or Satyr, rather than Hiſtory.

That Archbiſhop *Laud* was brought to his Trial, and found Guilty, during the Heat of a Civil War, and when all things were tending to Confuſion, was nothing ſtrange:

ſtrange: nor was Serjeant *Wild*'s Introduction at the Opening of his Charge, any thing but what might have been expected at ſuch a Time, when he told the Lords, That *it might be ſaid of the Great Cauſe of the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *as it was in a like Caſe, Repertum eſt hodierno die facinus, quod nec Poeta fingere, nec Hiſtrio ſonare, nec Mimus imitari potuerit.* But it was indeed ſtrange, and none of the leaſt of this great Man's Misfortunes, that three Years before, he ſhould be declar'd by the Houſe of Commons a Traitor, *Nemine Contradicente*, at a Time when there was not the leaſt Miſ-underſtanding betwixt the King and Parliament, being within the firſt Month after they ſat down: And which was yet ſtranger, That no body was more ſevere upon him, than ſome of thoſe that afterwards took the King's part againſt the Parliament, and were at laſt the chief Inſtruments of his Son's Reſtoration. Whoever reads Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*'s Speech upon voting his Impeachment, or *Pym*'s upon carrying it up to the Lords, will be apt to think, *That ſcarce any Age has produc'd a Man whoſe Actions and Conduct have been more obnoxious to Obloquy, or given greater Occaſion for it.*

There was one Thread that run through his whole Accuſation, and upon which moſt of the Articles of his Impeachment turn'd; and that was, *his Inclination to Popery, and*

his Deſign to introduce the Romiſh *Religion:* Of which his immortal Book againſt *Fiſher*, and his Declaration at his Death, do ſufficiently acquit him. And yet, not Proteſtants only, but even *Roman* Catholicks themſelves, were led into this Miſtake; otherwiſe they would not have dar'd to offer one in his Poſt a Cardinal's Cap, as he confeſſes in his Diary they did twice. The Introduction of a great many pompous Ceremonies into the Church, the Licenſing ſome Books that ſpoke favourably of the Church of *Rome*, and the refuſing to licenſe others that were writ againſt it, were the principal Cauſes of his being thus miſrepreſented: And indeed his Behaviour in ſome of theſe Matters, as likewiſe in the Star-Chamber and High-Commiſſion-Court, can hardly be accounted for; and particularly his Theatrical Manner of conſecrating a new Church in *London*, related at length in the *Appendix*.

Appendix, *Numb.* 7. *p.* 235.

He was certainly, in ſpite of Malice, a Man of an elevated Capacity, and vaſt Deſigns; a great Encourager of Learning, and learned Men; and ſpared no Pains nor Coſt to enrich *England* with ſuch a noble Collection of Books and Manuſcripts in moſt Languages, as look'd rather like the Bounty of a King, than of a Subject. As he left behind him many laſting Monuments of his Beneficence to the learned World, ſo was he

he in a Way to have carried it much further, if his Misfortunes had not interven'd, and depriv'd Learning of ſo powerful a Benefactor.

But after all; as there is ſeldom found a Mind ſo Great but has ſome Allay, ſo it ſeems Archbiſhop *Laud*, notwithſtanding his excellent Endowments, was not proof againſt either the Impreſſion of Dreams, or Revenge of perſonal Affronts, though never ſo trivial in themſelves, nor the Perſon never ſo mean: Of the one, witneſs his taking ſo particular Notice in his Diary of ſeveral of his Dreams; and of the other, his carrying his Reſentments ſo far againſt *Archie* the King's Fool, for a mere Jeſt, that he had him turn'd out of Court by an Order of Council: Which being ſo unaccountable a Piece of Weakneſs in ſo great a Man, and done at a full Board, the King and the Archbiſhop preſent; the Order is plac'd in the *Appendix*, for a remarkable Inſtance *how far the greateſt of Men may at ſome times be left without a Guard againſt Paſſion.*

Appendix, *Numb.* 8. *p.* 238.

To return to King *Charles*, he did every thing that was poſſible, to give Satisfaction to the Parliament, or could be reaſonably expected from a Gracious and Beneficent Prince. He paſs'd the Bill for attainting the Earl of *Strafford*, though with reluctancy, as believing he deſerv'd not

ſuch hard Meaſure: He took away Monopolies, that had been a great Diſcouragement to Trade: He expreſs'd himſelf to their Contentment in the Matters of Loan, Ship-money, Tunnage and Poundage, and other unwarrantable Methods that had been us'd in raiſing Money; and ſhew'd a ſettled Reſolution to comply with them in every thing that might tend to the Eaſe and Security of the Subject. As in the preceding Parliament he had paſt the Petition of Right, ſo in the Beginning of this he had agreed to the Acts for Triennial Parliaments, and for aboliſhing the Star-Chamber and High-Commiſſion Courts, which had been great Grievances; and with Chearfulneſs paſs'd that Act which ſeem'd inconſiſtent with his own juſt Prerogative, That *that Parliament ſhould not be diſſolv'd, but by Act of Parliament; nor prorogu'd or adjourn'd, but by their own Conſent.*

The King having upon theſe Conceſſions receiv'd the publick Thanks of both Houſes, and the loud Applauſes of his People, took a Journey for *Scotland* in *Auguſt* 1641. to ſettle Matters there, that requir'd his Preſence; leaving the Parliament ſitting, which they continu'd to do for ſome time, and then adjourn'd themſelves to *October* following. At the King's going away, Affairs had been already ſettled betwixt the two Kingdoms by an Act of

of Pacification, and both Armies order'd to be diſbanded, the *Scots* returning home for that purpoſe.

The Iriſh *Rebellion.*

While the King was in *Scotland*, the *Iriſh* Rebellion broke out, which became a new Bone of Contention between the King and the Parliaments of both Nations. He took what Meaſures were poſſible in *Scotland* about ſuppreſſing that Rebellion, and made what haſte he could back to *England* to concert with the Parliament there, what was further to be done towards it; leaving the *Scots*, as he ſaid himſelf, *a contented People*, and every thing ſettled to their Mind both in Church and State.

He return'd to *London* the latter End o *November*, and was receiv'd with all demonſtrations of Affection. The Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, the Nobility, Gentry, and Train'd-Bands met him without the City, and conducted him in great State with the Acclamations of the People (the City Companies in their Formalities lining the Streets on each ſide) to *Guildhall*, where he was royally feaſted, and after Dinner conducted with the ſame Pomp to *Whitehall*.

What Man that had ſeen a Prince thus receiv'd into his Capital City, could have imagin'd, that within leſs than ſeven Weeks he ſhould be oblig'd to leave it upon the account of Tumults, never to ſee it again, but as a Priſoner brought thither to die

upon a Scaffold? Yet this was King *Charles's* hard Fortune: And it's here I would willingly draw a Veil over the remaining part of his Reign, that ended in one of the most dismal Tragedies that ever was acted upon the *English* Stage. His Virtues and Morals deserv'd a better Fate, and he suffer'd for the Faults of others, rather than Errors of his own.

The House of Commons had begun some few Days before his Return, to fall into new Heats about *Innovations in Religion*; *the Rebellion in* Ireland; *Plots said to be laid in* Scotland; *the disabling the Clergy to exercise Temporal Jurisdiction*; *and excluding the Bishops from Votes in Parliament*: All which Matters, together with Reports that were buzz'd about of some Designs against the Parliament, led the House into that remarkable *Petition, and Remonstrance of the State of the Nation*; in which they ripp'd up again all the Mismanagements in the Government since the King's coming to the Crown; and attributed all to *Evil Counsels and Counsellors, and a Malignant Party about the King*. This *Remonstrance* was roughly penn'd, both for Matter and Expression, and met with great Opposition in the House; the Debate lasting from Three a Clock in the Afternoon till Ten a Clock next Morning; and was presented to his

The Petition and Remonstrance of the House of Commons to King Charles.

his Majeſty the eighth Day after his Return from *Scotland*.

It was no wonder King *Charles* was ſurpriz'd at this Petition and Remonſtrance, conſidering how much he had done to comply with his Parliament in all they deſir'd. And ſince from theſe two Papers, and from the King's Anſwer to them at their delivery, and from the Declaration he publiſh'd more at large afterwards to the ſame purpoſe, the Reader will be better enabled to make a Judgment of the Cauſes and Arguments on both ſides for the Civil War that enſued, I have plac'd all the four in the *Appendix*: The Length of them may be more eaſily pardon'd, ſince upon the Matters contain'd in them, the whole almoſt of all the Differences that came to be decided by the Sword, happen'd to turn.

Appendix, *Numb.* 9. *p.* 239.

King Charles's *coming to the Houſe of Commons to demand the five Members.*

Things were now going faſt on towards leſſening the Confidence betwixt the King and Parliament: And yet there were not wanting Endeavours on both ſides to accommodate Matters by ſoft and healing Methods, when the King's coming to the Houſe of Commons in Perſon to demand five of their Members, whom he had order'd the Day before to be impeach'd of High-Treaſon, did put all into a Combuſtion, and gave Occaſion to the Houſe to aſſert their

Privileges with a greater warmth than ever. This was the moſt unlucky ſtep King *Charles* could have made at that Juncture: And the Indiſcretion of ſome that attended the King to the Lobby of the Houſe, was inſiſted upon as an Argument that the King was reſolv'd to uſe Violence upon the Parliament, which it's to be preſum'd was a thing far from his Thoughts. The five Members had hardly time to make their Eſcape juſt when the King was entring; and upon his going away, the Houſe adjourn'd in a Flame for ſome Days, ordering a Committee to ſit in *Guildhall* in the mean Time, as if they were not ſafe at *Weſtminſter*.

Whoever they were that advis'd the King to this raſh Attempt, are juſtly chargeable with all the Blood that was afterwards ſpilt; for this ſudden Action was the firſt and viſible Ground of all our following Miſeries. It was believ'd, that if the King had found the five Members in the Houſe, and had call'd in his Guards to ſeize them, the Houſe would have endeavour'd their Defence, and oppos'd Force to Force; which might have endanger'd the King's Perſon. But the Conſequences were bad enough without this; for immediately upon it there was nothing but Confuſion and Tumults, Fears and Jealouſies every where, which ſpread themſelves to *Whitehall* in the rudeſt Manner; ſo that his Majeſty think-

ing himſelf not ſafe there, he retir'd with his Family to *Hampton-Court*.

The King leaving the Parliament in this Manner, there were ſcarce any hopes of a thorough Reconciliation. But when after a great many Removes from Place to Place, his Majeſty came to ſet up his Standard at *Nottingham*, there enſu'd a fatal and bloody War; which, it's reaſonable to believe, was never deſign'd at firſt by either ſide.

The Beginning of the Civil War.

Each Party blam'd the other for beginning this War; and it's not eaſy to determine which of them began it. Though the King made the firſt Steps that ſeem'd to tend that way, ſuch as *raiſing a Troop for a Guard to his Perſon, ſummoning the Gentlemen and Freeholders of ſeveral Counties to attend him in his Progreſs to the* North, *and ordering Arms and Ammunition to be bought in* Holland *for his uſe*; yet the Parliament did as much at the ſame Time: For they likewiſe *rais'd Guards of their own, and took Care that the Magazine of* Hull *ſhould not fall into the King's Hands*. So that the King and Parliament prepar'd themſelves inſenſibly for War, without conſidering that theſe Preparations muſt gradually and inevitably come to Blows in the End. The King's ſetting up his Standard at *Nottingham* was not the firſt publick Notice of this War, as has been commonly reported by Hiſtorians that ſhould have known better; for that was

not done till *Auguſt* 22. 1642. and yet the Houſe of Commons paſt theſe two Votes the 12th of *July* before; 1. *That an Army ſhould be forthwith rais'd for the Safety of the King's Perſon, Defence of both Houſes of Parliament, and of thoſe who have obey'd their Orders and Commands; and preſerving of the true Religion, Laws, Liberty, and Peace of the Kingdom.* And 2. That *the Earl of* Eſſex *ſhould be General, and the Earl of* Bedford *General of the Horſe.* To which Votes the Houſe of Lords agreed.

Whoever begun the War, it was carried on in the beginning with equal Succeſs, and it was hard to determine which Side had the better: Till in the Sequel, the loſs of *Eſſex*'s Army in the Weſt, and other Diſadvantages, brought the Parliament's Affairs to a low Ebb, and ſeem'd to promiſe the King an intire Maſtery. To retrieve their ſinking Fortune, the Parliament was obliged to call in the *Scots* to their Aſſiſtance; which ſo far turn'd the Scale, that the King loſt Ground every day after: And the defeat of his Army at the Battles of *Marſton-Moor* and *Naſeby*, put him out of Capacity to keep the Field, and broke entirely all his Meaſures.

During the whole Courſe of this Unnatural War, it was hard to divine what would be the Fate of *England*; whether an Abſolute Unlimited Monarchy; a new huddled up Commonwealth; or a downright Anarchy.

If

If the King ſhould prevail, the firſt was to be fear'd, conſidering that the many Indignities put upon him, might imbitter him againſt the Parliament; if the Parliament ſhould prevail, the ſecond was to be apprehended: And if the Army ſhould ſet up for themſelves, as afterwards they did, the laſt was inevitably to follow. All which ſome of the beſt Men about the King wiſely foreſaw, and trembled at the Event of every Battle that was fought, whoever happen'd to be Victors. It was the dread of theſe Misfortunes that hinder'd the Lords and Commons whom the King call'd to *Oxford*, from aſſuming to themſelves the Name of *The Parliament of* England; and from declaring thoſe met at *Weſtminſter*, *Rebels*; though the King again and again importun'd them to it, and took their refuſal ſo ill, that in one of his Letters to the Queen, intercepted at *Naſeby*, he reflects heavily upon them for it, and calls them in deriſion *his Mungrel Parliament*. It was likewiſe the diſmal Proſpect he had of this War, even in the beginning of it, that mov'd that accompliſh'd Gentleman the Lord *Faulkland*, to throw away his Life, rather than be a Witneſs of the Miſeries that were coming upon the Nation. For tho' he was Secretary of State to the King, and follow'd his Fortune; yet ſeeing all his Endeavours for promoting a Peace were in vain, he went on with a Party to ſkirmiſh with the Enemy,

the

the day before the firſt Battle of *Newbury*; and being diſſuaded by his Friends, as having no Call to it, being no Military Perſon, he ſaid, *He was weary of the Times, and foreſaw much Miſery to his Country, and hop'd he ſhould be out of it ere Night.* So puſhing into the Battel, he was ſlain.

Endeavours that were us'd for an Accommodation.

Many Endeavours were us'd from time to time to bring Matters to an Accommodation by way of Treaty; but ſtill ſome one unlucky Accident or other render'd them all abortive. At the Treaty of *Uxbridge*, though the Parliament's Demands were high, and the King ſhow'd a more than ordinary Averſion to comply with them; yet the ill Poſture of the King's Affairs at that time, and the fatal Conſequences they fear'd would follow upon breaking off of the Treaty, oblig'd a great many of the King's Friends, and more particularly that Noble Perſon the Earl of *Southampton*, who had gone Poſt from *Uxbridge* to *Oxford* for that purpoſe, to preſs the King again and again upon their Knees, to yield to the Neceſſity of the Times; and by giving his Aſſent to ſome of the moſt material Propoſitions that were ſent him, to ſettle a laſting Peace with his People. The King was at laſt prevail'd with to follow their Counſel; and the next Morning was appointed for ſigning a Warrant to his Commiſſioners to that effect.

And

And ſo ſure were they of a happy end of all Differences, that the King at Supper complaining his Wine was not good, one told him merrily, *He hop'd that his Majeſty would drink better before a Week was over, at* Guildhall *with the* Lord-Mayor. But ſo it was, that when they came early next Morning to wait upon him with the Warrant that had been agreed upon over Night, they found his Majeſty had chang'd his Reſolution, and was become inflexible in theſe Points.

The unhappy occaſion of this Alteration has lain hitherto a Secret in Hiſtory, and might have continued ſuch ſtill, if a Letter from the Marquiſs of *Montroſs* in *Scotland*, whereof I have ſeen a Copy under the Duke of *Richmond*'s Hand, did not give a ſufficient Light into it. To make the Matter better underſtood, it's neceſſary to ſay ſomething of *Montroſs* and his Actions in *Scotland*.

Montroſs's *Fatal Letter*.

This Nobleman had been at firſt very active and zealous for the Liberties of his Country; and was the firſt Man that paſt the River *Tweed* at the Head of Five hundred Horſe, upon the *Scots* firſt Expedition into *England*: but being afterwards diſoblig'd, or, as ſome ſay, repenting of his former Error, he left that ſide, and came in to the King at the breaking out of the War between him and the Parliament.

When

When the *Scots* came into *England* the ſecond time to aſſiſt the Parliament, *Montroſs* apply'd himſelf to the King for a Commiſſion to levy War againſt his Rebel Subjects, as they were call'd, of *Scotland*; aſſuring his Majeſty, he was able with the Aſſiſtance of his Friends, and Concurrence of the reſt of the Royal Party, to make at leaſt a very conſiderable Diverſion, if not to reduce the whole Country to his Majeſty's Obedience. Accordingly the Marquiſs was made Governour of *Scotland*; where, in the ſpace of five Months, with a handful of raw undiſciplin'd Men, and thoſe not half arm'd, he did over-run a great part of the Country, and gain three very conſiderable Battels; the laſt of which was that of *Inverlochy*, fought the ſecond of *February* 1644, according to the *Engliſh*, and 1645, according to the *Scotch* Account. In this Battel the Earl of *Argyle* was entirely defeated, and the Prime of the Noble Family of the *Campbells* cut off, with inconſiderable Loſs on *Montroſs*'s ſide; who next day diſpatch'd an Expreſs to the King with the News of this and his two former Victories: And in his Letter expreſs'd his *utter Averſion to all Treaties with his Rebel Parliament in* England, as he calls them: Tells the King, *he is heartily ſorry to hear that his Majeſty had conſented to treat; and hopes it is not true:* Adviſes him *not to enter into Terms with his Rebellious Subjects, as being a Thing unworthy of a King:*

King: And assures him, That he himself was now so much Master of *Scotland*, *that he doubted not but to be able within a few Months to march into* England *to his Majesty's Assistance, with a brave Army.* And concludes with this odd Expression, *When I have conquer'd from* Dan *to* Beersheba, *as I doubt not I shall very quickly, I hope I may have then leave to say as* David's *General said to his Master, Come thou, lest this Country be call'd by my Name.*

This Letter writ with such an Air of Assurance, and by a Person that was thought capable to make good his Promises; and the Matter contain'd in it, suiting but too well with the King's Inclinations, was unluckily deliver'd to the King but a few hours before he was to have sign'd the Warrant before-mention'd; and had as ill effects as the worst of King *Charles*'s Enemies could have wish'd; for it dash'd out in a moment all the Impressions his best Friends had been making upon him for a considerable time, towards a full Settlement with his People.

It look'd as if there was some secret Fatality in this whole matter; for it could hardly have been imagin'd, that a Letter writ the third of *February*, in the furthermost North Corner of *Britain*, should come so soon to *Oxford*, considering the length of the Journey, the badness of the Roads at that time of the Year, especially through the

the mountainous part of *Scotland*, together with the Parliament's and *Scotch* Armies and Garriſons that were poſted all along the Road: And yet certain it is, it came through all theſe Dangers and Inconveniences in very few days: for its indors'd upon the Copy I have ſeen, *That it was deliver'd to the King during the Treaty of* Uxbridge; which every body knows began the 30th of *January*, and ended the 22d of *February*. And further, it muſt have been deliver'd before the 19th of *February*, becauſe King *Charles* takes notice of it in a Letter to the Queen, of that Date, found among others at *Naſeby*; where he ſays, *Though I leave News to others, yet I cannot but tell thee, That even now I have received certain Intelligence of a great Defeat given by* Montroſs *to* Argyle, *who upon Surprize totally routed thoſe Rebels, and kill'd Fifteen hundred upon the place.* And it's remarkable, That in the ſame Letter to the Queen, immediately after the mentioning *Montroſs's* Victory, the King adds, *That as for truſting the Rebels, either by going to* London, *or disbanding my Army before a Peace, do no ways fear my hazarding ſo cheaply or fooliſhly: for I eſteem the Intereſt thou haſt in me at a far dearer rate; and pretena to have a little more Wit (at leaſt, by the Sympathy that's betwixt us) than to put my ſelf into the Reverence of Perfidious Rebels.* Which Words being compared with *Montroſs's* Letter, it will be found

found the one is a Commentary upon the other.

I have plac'd *Montroſs*'s Letter it ſelf in the *Appendix*, and cannot leave it, without making this Obſervation, That *conſidering the time it was writ, the Critical Minute it was deliver'd, with the ſad Conſequences that attended it*; it makes this Axiom true, *That oftentimes the Fate of Princes and States is chiefly owing to very minute and unforeſeen Accidents.*

Appendix, *Numb.* 10. p. 302.

The Treaty of *Uxbridge* being thus broke off, the War was renew'd with greater Fury than ever; till at laſt the Parliament's Army having beaten the King out of the Field, came to kick their *Maſters* out of the Houſe: and having modell'd the Parliament and Army to their own minds, did ſet up for themſelves, and at one Blow compleated the Ruin of their Country *in the Murder of King* Charles I. *and the Extirpation of Monarchy*. In ſhort, a continued Series of Misfortunes attended the Royal Cauſe; and ſeveral favourable Accidents, that ſeem'd from time to time to promiſe better Events, did concur in the end to the King's undoing: Till at laſt, that unhappy Prince, in being brought before a Tribunal of his own Subjects, and ſubmitting his Neck to the Stroke of a Common Executioner, taught the World an aſtoniſhing Example of the Inſtability of Human Greatneſs;

neſs; and in that and the reſt of his Sufferings, a *laſting Pattern of Chriſtian Magnanimity and Patience.*

The Character of King Charles I.

The Character of King *Charles* the Firſt may be taken in a great part from what has been already ſaid; and I ſhall only add a few things more. He was a Prince of a Comely Preſence, of a Sweet, Grave, but Melancholy Aſpect. His Face was regular, handſome, and well-complexion'd; his Body ſtrong, healthy, and well made; and though of a low Stature, was capable to endure the greateſt Fatigues. His Face, contrary to that of his Son *Charles* II. was eaſily taken, either in Painting or Sculpture; and ſcarce any one, though never ſo indifferently skill'd in their Art, fail'd to hit. He had ſomething in the Lines and Features which Phyſiognomiſts account unfortunate: And it's commonly reported, that his Picture being ſent to *Rome* to have a *Buſto* done by it; a famous Statuary, not knowing whoſe it was, told the Gentleman that brought it, *He was ſorry if it was the Face of any Relation of his; for it was one of the moſt Unfortunate he ever ſaw; and according to all the Rules of Art, the Perſon whoſe it was muſt die a violent Death.* In his Temper he was Brave, Magnificent, Liberal and Conſtant; but more affable to Strangers than his own Subjects.

fects. It was his noble and generous Behaviour that took ſo much with the King of *Spain*, when he went thither to court the Infanta, that he rejected the repeated Sollicitations of his Council to ſeize him; and paid him more Reſpect than could have been well expected, if he had been King of *England* at that time. Of his Compoſure of Mind in time of greateſt Danger, he gave a Noble Inſtance in his Behaviour in that great Storm in the Road of *St. Andrees*, which was worthy the antient Philoſophers: Nor did he fall ſhort of the braveſt in Perſonal Courage; having expos'd his Perſon in every Battle he was in, and oftentimes charging at the head of his Squadrons.

He had a good Taſte of Learning, and a more than ordinary Skill in the Liberal Arts, eſpecially Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Medals; and being a generous Benefactor to the moſt Celebrated Maſters in thoſe Arts, he acquir'd the nobleſt Collection of any Prince in his time, and more than all the Kings of *England* had done before him. It's ſaid, notwithſtanding his natural Generoſity, that he beſtow'd Favours with a worſe Grace than his Son King *Charles* the Second denied them; and many times obliterated the Senſe of the Obligation by the manner of it: But indeed he had ſeldom much to give, being kept ſhort of Money a great part of

of his Reign. The Eſſentials of Divinity he was as much Maſter of, as ever his Father had been, but without the Allay of Pedantry: Of this, among other things, the Papers that paſt betwixt him and Mr. *Henderſon* at *Newcaſtle*, will be a laſting Monument. He was a great Patron of the Clergy, but his employing them in the higheſt Offices of Truſt in State-Matters, created Envy againſt them, and leſſen'd the Love of the Nobility towards him: Yet ſuch was the Honeſty and Integrity of one of them in the greateſt and moſt obnoxious Poſts in the Kingdom; that when ſome Years after he had reſign'd the Treaſurer's Staff, and when the Parliament wanted not will to cruſh him, they could not find, upon the narroweſt Scrutiny, any one thing to object either againſt his Accounts, or his Behaviour in that Place.

Dr. Juxon *Biſhop of* London.

King *Charles* was a paſſionate Lover of his Queen, who was a beautiful Lady, and in all things very well accompliſh'd; inſomuch that his Friends regretted the Aſcendant ſhe had over him on ſome occaſions, while others tax'd him with the Character of an uxorious Husband. He was fond of his Children, and kind to his Servants, tho' theſe laſt felt ſometimes the haſty Sallies of his Paſſion. He was not miſtaken of himſelf, when he ſaid before the High Court of Juſtice, *That he underſtood as much Law*

as

as any private Gentleman in England: And pity it was that any of his Miniſters ſhould have adviſ'd him to make Breaches in what he ſo well underſtood.

He ſpoke ſeveral Languages very well, and with a ſingular good Grace; tho' now and then, when he was warm in Diſcourſe, he was inclinable to ſtammer. He writ a tolerable hand for a King, but his Senſe was ſtrong, and his Stile Laconick; and yet he ſeldom wrote in any Language but *Engliſh*. Some of his Manifeſto's, Declarations, and other publick Papers, he drew himſelf, and moſt of them he corrected. In comparing thoſe of the King with the Parliament's, one would be eaſily inclin'd to prefer, for the moſt part, the King's, for the Strength of Reaſoning, and the Force of Expreſſion. I have ſeen ſeveral Pieces of his own hand, and therefore may the better affirm, That both for Matter and Form they ſurpaſs thoſe of his ableſt Miniſters, and come nothing ſhort of *Strafford* or *Faulkland*; the two moſt celebrated Pens of that time.

As to his Religion, he was Proteſtant, and, in the ſtricteſt Senſe, of the Church of *England*, and for the Divine Right of Epiſcopacy: But his conſenting perſonally to the total Abolition of that Order in *Scotland*, does not well agree with this part of his Character; eſpecially conſidering his repeated Proteſtations at the Treaties of

Uxbridge

Uxbridge and *Newport*, That he could not ſuperſede it, but for a time, in *England*. What his Opinion was about Subjects defending their Religion and Liberties by Force of Arms, appear'd in the Buſineſs of *Rochel*: For tho' ſome would have had us believe of late, That defenſive Arms were inconſiſtent with the Principles of the Church of *England*; it's hop'd they will not deny but King *Charles* I. underſtood the Doctrine and Principles of that Church as well as any other Perſon can pretend to do; and yet it's certain, that in his Practice and Declarations he allow'd of the People of *Rochel*'s vindicating their Religion and Liberties from the Incroachments made by their Sovereign, and that by Force of Arms, and aſſiſted them in ſo doing.

His aſſiſting the Rochellers.

King *Charles* did not only aſſiſt the *Rochellers* after the War was actually begun, but we have reaſon to believe that he encourag'd them to it at firſt, if we look into the Duke of *Rhoan*'s Memoirs and Apology; where that great Man acquaints the World in what manner he was brought into that War, in theſe words, as near as I can tranſlate them from the Original: *When all our Privileges* (ſays he) *were violated, and our Religion brought to ruin, and the City of* Rochel *in the greateſt danger, I could ſee no poſſibility to eſcape, but was upon the ſad Thoughts of ſubmitting our ſelves to the Mercy of*

of the King (meaning *Lewis* XIII.) *Being in this deſperate State, there came a Gentleman to me from the King of* England; *who told me from his Maſter, That he ſeeing our Privileges were violated, and our Religion in danger of being ſubverted, had taken Compaſſion on our Sufferings, and thought himſelf oblig'd in Honour and Conſcience to aſſiſt and protect us: which he was reſolv'd to do, by employing all his Kingdoms, and his own Perſon, in ſo juſt a War; provided we would join our Arms with his, and not enter into any Treaty with the King* (meaning the *French* King) *without him; and for that Effect he would make War againſt the* French *King both by Sea and Land. Intreating me* (continues the Duke of *Rhoan*) *not to abandon my Party in ſo juſt and honourable a War.* And a little after, in the ſame Apology, he has theſe Words; *I refer it to all the World, if I can be juſtly called the Author of the third War, conſidering I was ſollicited to it by the King of* Great Britain.

But ſuppoſe there were no Credit to be given to the Duke of *Rhoan*, whoſe Honour and Veracity even his very Enemies never call'd in queſtion; and ſuppoſe it were falſe, which all the World knows to be true, that King *Charles* did actually aſſiſt the *Rochellers* again and again againſt their Prince: yet we have Authentick Accounts of ſeveral Speeches made by the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Secretary to the *Rochellers*, and of ſeveral Meſſages ſent to them from the Duke, in

name of the King his Maſter, all to the ſame purpoſe: And likewiſe a Manifeſto publiſh'd by him, and ſigned with his own hand, dated *July* 21, 1627 aboard the Admiral-Ship; in which he has this Expreſſion: *No private Intereſt* (ſays he) *has obliged my Maſter to make war againſt the* French *King, but merely the Defence of the Proteſtant Church: My Maſter's Deſign is the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Church; their Good is his Intereſt, and their Contentment his End.*

Hiſtoire de la Siege de Rochelle, par Mr. Mervault.

We have alſo authentick Copies of the League betwixt King *Charles* and the People of *Rochel*; in which there is this Expreſſion, *That the* Rochellers *may be deliver'd from the Oppreſſions they groan under.* And to ſum up all, there were two Letters writ by King *Charles*, with his own hand, to the *Rochellers*, which are mention'd by Monſieur *Mervault*, a Syndic of that Town, and who was active in the whole Matter, and preſent during the whole Siege; of which the Copies follow.

To the Mayor, Sheriffs, Peers, and Burgeſſes of the City of Rochel.

Gentlemen,

BE not diſcourag'd, tho' my Fleet be return'd. Hold out to the laſt; for I am reſolv'd that my whole Fleet ſhall periſh, rather than you be not reliev'd. For this effect I have order'd it to return back to your Coaſts, and am ſending ſeveral Ships to reinforce it. With the help of God the Succeſs ſhall be happy for you.

At *Weſtminſter*, *May* 19. O.S. 1628.

Your good Friend,
CHARLES R.

The other Letter, directed as before, runs thus:

Gentlemen,

I Have been very much troubled to hear that my Fleet was upon the point of returning home, without obeying my Orders in ſupplying you with Proviſions, coſt what it will. I have commanded them to return to your Road, and not to come away until you are ſupply'd, or at leaſt till they are reinforc'd, which I have or-

der'd to be done with all Diligence. Aſſure your ſelves, that I ſhall never abandon you: and that I ſhall employ the whole Power of my Kingdom for your Deliverance, until God aſſiſt me to obtain for you an aſſured Peace.

Given at our Palace of Weſtminſter May 27. O. S. 1628.

Your good Friend,

CHARLES R.

I have dwelt the longer upon this Subject, becauſe it is eaſy to draw a Parallel betwixt the Caſe of King *Charles*'s aſſiſting Subjects againſt their King in the Defence of their Religion and Liberties, and that of another Prince's doing the ſame upon a late Occaſion: But as the former had no other Right to interpoſe in the one, but the common Intereſt of Religion; ſo the other had over and above that, the Right of a Prince of the Blood, and the Intereſt of the preſumptive Heir of the Crown; all which alter'd the caſe greatly to the Advantage of the latter. King *Charles* was as unfortunate in this War with *France*, as he was in all others he engag'd in. The poor City of *Rochel*, after a long and cruel Siege, amidſt the Horrors of Famine and Death, was at laſt forc'd to ſubmit to the Will of the Conqueror; and the Loſs of that Bulwark of the *French* Liberty was, in ſome time, follow'd by the total Ruin of the Proteſtant

ſtant Intereſt in *France*. The *Engliſh* Fleet lay within view of the Town when it was taken; and which added to the Misfortune, that mighty *Dyke*, that had been rais'd at ineſtimable Charges to block up the Harbour, fell down the very next day after the Surrender, and open'd a Paſſage for the Fleet that came to relieve it, when it was now too late.

During this War, he loſt his Favourite *George Villers*, Duke of *Buckingham*. This Gentleman was one of the greateſt Prodigies of Fortune that any Age has produc'd; and gave us a ſignal Inſtance how far it is poſſible for the ſame Perſon to be the Favourite of two ſucceſſive Monarchs. He poſſeſs'd King *James*'s Favour, without a Rival, and without any other Interruption, but that Cloud which the Intrigues of *Spain* rais'd againſt him in the King's Mind, which has been already hinted at; wherein the Son ſhar'd equally with the Favourite, and which Biſhop *Williams*'s Dexterity ſoon diſſipated. King *Charles* out-did his Father in his Kindneſs to *Buckingham*, and had no Favourite after him. He had all the Qualities that are requiſite for a Court, and fit to acquire and preſerve his Maſter's Affections. Notwithſtanding he was in his Temper highly Generous and Beneficent, and

The Character of the D. of Buckingham.

Vide Hacket's *Life of Biſhop* Williams.

that there were few great Families in *England* but he had ſome way or other oblig'd, either in themſelves or their Relations, yet he fell under the Misfortune that attends Favourites: but it muſt be own'd, he was rather envied than hated. He had the ill luck to be charg'd with a great many things of which he was innocent, and particularly in relation to the *Spaniſh* Match. By all that I have ſeen, he deſerved the Thanks of the Nation upon that account, rather than an Impeachment in Parliament: For it was he chiefly that broke off that Match, when he ſaw how much King *James* ſuffer'd in his Honour, through the manner he was treated in it, which he found out ſooner than the King did himſelf. It's none of the leaſt Proofs of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Innocency in theſe matters, that *Spanhemius* in his Hiſtory of the *Electrice Palatine*, (writ long after *Buckingham*'s Death) ſpeaks always honourably of him in the Buſineſs of the *Palatinate*; whereas at the ſame time he expoſes King *James*'s Conduct.

It's a vulgar Miſtake, that he came to be the firſt Miniſter, merely through the Caprice of King *James*; for the Court unanimouſly promoted his Intereſt, and recommended him to the higheſt Favour, in oppoſition to *Somerſet*, whoſe Arrogancy, Covetouſneſs, and Pride, had diſoblig'd every body, and made both the King and the Court

Court weary of him. No Servant did his Maſter more Honour in the Magnificence of his Train, and the ſplendid manner of his living, eſpecially in his Embaſſy to *France*; where in the Gracefulneſs of his Perſon, and Nobleneſs of his Behaviour and Equipage, he out-did any thing that ever was ſeen of that kind before. He was more form'd for a Court than a Camp; and tho' very brave in his Perſon, he was unſucceſsful in the only military Expedition he was engaged in, which was that of *Rochel*: And when he was upon the embarking a ſecond time to repair that Diſgrace, he was baſely murder'd amidſt a Croud of his Friends, and in the height of his Glory.

To return to King *Charles*'s Character: If he had any perſonal Faults, they were much over-weigh'd by his Virtues; but an immoderate Deſire of Power, beyond what the Conſtitution did allow of, was the Rock he ſplit upon. He might have been happy, if he had truſted more to his own Judgment than that of thoſe about him: for as in his Nature he was an Enemy to all violent Meaſures, ſo was he apt to ſubmit his own Reaſon to that of others, when any ſuch things came under Conſideration. There was another Error that run thro' the whole Management of his Affairs, both domeſtick and publick, and which occaſion'd a great part of his Misfortunes: He appear'd many times ſtiff and poſitive in denying at

firſt what he granted afterwards out of time, and too late to give Satisfaction; which encourag'd ambitious and intereſted Perſons to aſk more than they thought of at firſt, and loſt him the Fruits of his former Conceſſions: So that in the whole Conduct of his Life he verify'd this Maxim, *That Errors in Government have ruin'd more Princes than their perſonal Vices.*

I ſhall have done with this melancholy Subject, after the Reader has been acquainted with one remarkable Accident, not hitherto mention'd with that Exactneſs it deſerves by any Author I know of; which conſidering its Conſequences, is an extraordinary Inſtance, upon what ſmall Hinges the greateſt Revolutions may turn.

The true Cauſe of the Scots *coming firſt into* England.

That the principal Riſe of all King *Charles*'s latter Troubles, was from the ſecond War with the *Scots*, has been already ſhow'd; but what the Motives were that embolden'd the *Scots* to alter their Meaſures from thoſe they had obſerv'd in the firſt War, continues in great part a Myſtery to this Day. In the firſt War they ſtood upon the defenſive only, and came no further than their own Borders; but in the ſecond they acted ſo much on the offenſive, that they marched into *England* as far as *Durham*, and were coming on further, if the Treaty that was ſet afoot

afoot at *Rippon* had not ſtopt them. All the Accounts we have of this Proceeding of the *Scots*, do ſeem to be grounded upon the Informations they had of the Backwardneſs of *England* to aſſiſt the King in this War; and that they were well aſſur'd of Friends all over the Kingdom, and ſome of neareſt Acceſs to the King's Perſon, who they knew would interpoſe in their behalf, rather than Matters ſhould come to Extremities. But theſe general Encouragements can hardly be thought to have had ſuch Weight with the *Scots*, as to make them venture upon ſo bold an Attempt; and therefore it's but reaſonable to believe they went upon ſurer Grounds when they made this Invaſion.

This Matter will be ſet in a clearer Light, when the Reader is acquainted, That a forg'd Letter (pretended to be ſent from ſome of the moſt leading Men of the Nobility of *England*) came to have the ſame Effects as if it had been a true one, and really ſign'd by the ſame Perſons whoſe Names were affix'd to it; which fell out in this manner.

After the Pacification at *Duns*, which put an end to the firſt War, the King, at his Return to *London*, was prevail'd with, upon the account of ſeveral things the *Scots* were ſaid to have done contrary to the Articles of the Treaty, and the Duty of Subjects, to order the Pacification to be

burnt by the Hands of the Common Hangman. To reduce them to Obedience, he was meditating a new War, and in order thereto was levying another Army, and was pleas'd to call a Parliament to aſſiſt him in it. The *Scots* had their Commiſſioners at *London* at that time, who wanted not Friends in both Houſes to inform them of every thing that happen'd in Parliament and Council, which they failed not to write home to their Country, adviſing them to be on their Guard, and to put themſelves in a Poſture not to be ſurpriz'd.

The *Scots* knowing how Matters went in *England*, and that a new Storm was like to break out upon them, were reſolv'd to put themſelves into a Poſture of Defence; and to the Forces they had not yet diſbanded, they added conſiderable new Levies both of Horſe and Foot. Their Preparations went faſter on than the King's, and with the more Chearfulneſs; for by this time he had parted on ill Terms with his Parliament, and without obtaining a Supply. While the King was advancing towards the *North*, the *Scots* drew to their Borders; and it was debated at ſeveral Councils of War, where a Committee of Eſtates aſſiſted, Whether they ſhould expect the King upon the Borders, as they had done before, or march into *England*, and carry the War out of their own Country: but they had taken no Reſolution

in

in the matter, before the King was got as far as *York*.

In this nice Juncture there came a Gentleman to the *Engliſh* Border, who ſent a Meſſage to the Earl of *Rothes*, That he deſir'd to acquaint him with a Matter of the greateſt Importance and Secrecy, if he might privately, and with Safety ſpeak with him alone. *Rothes* thereupon ſent a truſty Servant with a Paſſport, to conduct him to his Quarters; where the Gentleman told him, That he was directed particularly to him, as a Perſon of great Honour, and whom they could ſafely truſt, with a Meſſage from ſeveral great Men of *England*; who were *griev'd for the Ruin they foreſaw muſt neceſſarily attend their Country, if the King ſhould make himſelf abſolute Maſter of* Scotland; *ſeeing after that, they were to expect the ſame Fate, conſidering how little to the King's Satisfaction things had been carry'd in the Parliament of* England, *and how much he had reſented their refuſing a Subſidy to carry on this War.* He told him, *That nothing was ſo much deſired in* England, *as a free Parliament to redreſs their Grievances: And if the* Scots *would march immediately into* England, *the King muſt neceſſarily be ſtraitned to that degree in his Affairs, as to be obliged to call a Parliament: And that upon their March, the City of* London, *and the greateſt part of the Nobility and Gentry, would not only petition the King for a free Parliament, but likewiſe me-*

diate between the King and them, and bring Matters to ſuch an Accommodation, as might be for the Good of both Nations: adding withal, *That if the* Scots *ſlipt this Opportunity, they were never to expect the like again.* The Gentleman having deliver'd this Meſſage, gave the Earl a Letter directed to him, and ſign'd by about twelve Noblemen, much to the ſame Purpoſe, but writ more cautiouſly, and in more general Terms; deſiring him, for a farther Explanation, to give intire Credit to the Bearer, whom they had fully inform'd of their Intentions.

Rothes, with the Gentleman's Leave, acquainted General *Leſly*, afterwards Earl of *Leven*, and one or two of the moſt leading Men of the Committee of Eſtates, with this Meſſage; and upon ſolemn Promiſes of Secrecy, ſhew'd them the Letter: both which agreeing ſo well in the main with the Intelligence they had receiv'd from *England*, and ſuiting with their own Inclinations, determin'd them in the Point. And the next Morning, in the Council of War, *it was reſolv'd to march into* England *that Afternoon*; which accordingly they did. *Rothes* in the mean time diſpatch'd back the Meſſenger, with an Anſwer to the Noblemen he ſuppos'd had writ to him; thanking them for their Advice, and acquainting them with the Reſolution which had been taken thereupon.

It fell out afterwards at the Treaty of *Rippon*, when the *Engliſh* and *Scotch* Commiſſioners grew familiar with one another, that the Earl of *Rothes* came from *Newcaſtle* to the Place of Treaty, and one of the *Engliſh* Noblemen making him a Viſit, they fell into Diſcourſe about the preſent Juncture of Affairs. The *Engliſh* Nobleman expreſs'd how much he had been ſurpriz'd upon the firſt News of the *Scots* entring into *England*; and told him, That though he hop'd it would now turn to the Advantage of both Nations; yet it was in it ſelf a dangerous and raſh Attempt, and might have been fatal to the *Scots*, if the King had not been pleas'd to enter into a Treaty for an Accommodation of Matters in diſpute between them. *Rothes* was at a ſtand what to make of this Diſcourſe, conſidering this Nobleman was one of thoſe whoſe Name was to the Letter formerly mention'd; and therefore anſwer'd, *That he wonder'd his Lordſhip was ſurpriz'd at an Action he had ſo much influenc'd: And that if it had not been for the Invitation of himſelf and his Friends, perhaps the* Scots *Army might have continued ſtill on the other ſide of* Tweed. The two Lords being equally in the dark as to one another's meaning, were at length, upon producing of the Letter, both of them undeceiv'd, and found it was a meer Forgery; which was afterwards acknowledg'd by the Contriver, who was the Lord *Savile*,

vile, created ſome time after Earl of *Suſſex*.

This Letter, though forgotten now, was much talk'd of during the Civil Wars: And I have ſeen ſeveral Original Papers of thoſe Times, that mention'd it. A Noble Lord, lately dead, whoſe Name was to the Letter, never made any Scruple of telling this Paſſage to his Friends, in the manner I have related it. And I once had a Copy of the Letter it ſelf (from the Original. which was then, and I believe is ſtill among the Papers of the Noble Family of *Rothes*) which I have ſince loſt. I muſt confeſs I have dwelt longer upon this matter, than conſiſts with the Brevity I intended, and that it might have been more properly mention'd in another place: Yet thus it was, that a Counterfeit Invitation brought the *Scots* into *England*, in the Year 1640. And conſidering the Conſequences, it may be ſaid, *That Providence many times ſeems to play with Human Affairs, and influences the Fate of Kingdoms by Counſels and Meaſures the moſt improbable to ſucceed, if he had not deſign'd them to be ſubſervient to his great Ends.*

The Lord Wharton.

There is an Hiſtorian, for whom I have the higheſt Veneration; who in his *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, mentions a Paſſage not unlike to this, and perhaps it may be the very ſame, though his Relation and mine differ

Biſhop of Salisbury's *Memoirs of the Dukes of* Hamilton.

differ in the time, and ſome other Circumſtances. And ſeeing I happen'd to look into that Book ſome time after I had writ theſe Sheets; that I may do Juſtice to its Reverend Author, whoſe Information I am willing to believe may be better than my own, though I had mine from no common hands, I ſhall give an Account of it in his own Words: and the rather, for that I do not remember the Date of the Letter upon which the Paſſage turns, though I do the main Deſign and Contents of it.

" But that the Reader may not be whol-
" ly in the dark, *ſays this Great Hiſtorian*,
" about the Grounds of this Confidence
" the *Covenanters* had, I ſhall ſet down
" what I had from ſome Perſons of Great
" Honour, who were fully inform'd about it.
" When the Earls of *Dumferling* and *Loudon*
" came to *London*, a Perſon of Quality of
" the *Engliſh* Nation (whoſe Name is ſuppreſ-
" ſed becauſe of the Infamy of this Action)
" came to them, and with great Vehemence
" preſs'd them to engage in a new War;
" and among other Motives brought them
" *Engagements* in Writing from moſt of the
" greateſt Peers of *England*, to join with
" them, and aſſiſt them when they ſhould
" come into *England* with their Army.
" This did much animate them; for they
" had not the leaſt doubt of the Papers
" brought them. But all this was diſco-
" ver'd,

" ver'd, at the Treaty of *Rippon*, to have " been a baſe Forgery: For there the *Scot-* " *tiſh* Lords looking very ſullenly upon ſome " of the *Engliſh* Lords, as on Perſons of " no Faith or Truth, the Lord *Mandevil* " came to the Earl of *Rothes*, and ask'd " the Reaſon of that Change of their Coun- " tenances and Behaviour in them; who af- " ter ſome high Reflections, at length chal- " leng'd him and the other Lords of not " keeping what they engag'd to them. Up- " on which that Lord ſtood amaz'd, and " told him, and ſo did the other Lords " there, That they had ſent no ſuch Meſ- " ſages nor Papers to them; and that they " had been abus'd by the blackeſt Impoſ- " ture that ever was. Thus it appear'd " (*concludes this Author*) how dangerous it " may be to receive ſome things, that ſeem " to have the higheſt Probabilities in them, " eaſily and upon truſt.

To leave this Subject, it may not be improper to add another Paſſage out of the ſame Book; where that *Reverend Prelate*, ſpeaking of the Inducements that prevail'd with the *Scots* to come in to the Aſſiſtance of the Parliament three Years after, tells us, " That among other Arguments, that " Paper which was ſent down in the Year " 1640, as the Engagement of Twenty " Eight of the Peers of *England*, for their " Concurrence with the *Scottiſh* Army that " Year, was ſhown to divers, to engage

" them

" them into a grateful Return to thoſe to
" whom it was pretended they were ſo
" highly oblig'd. For though the Earl of
" *Rothes* (and a few more) were well ſatiſ-
" fy'd about the Forgery of that Paper, yet
" they thought that a Secret of too great
" Importance to be generally known, there-
" fore it was ſtill kept up from the Body of
" the Nation."

King Charles's Thoughts of Reſigning the Crown to his Son.

To ſhut up what relates to King *Charles* I. After the Treaty of *Newport* was broke off, and he once more carried away by the Army, he found his Caſe was deſperate, and thereupon began to have ſome thoughts of Reſigning the Crown to the Prince of *Wales*, as the only means, in that unhappy Condition, to preſerve it for his Family. But before he had time to digeſt this Reſolution, or an opportunity to acquaint the Parliament with it, he was hurried on to his Tryal. The laſt Day of that Tryal he earneſtly propos'd, *That before Sentence paſs'd, he might be heard before the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, where he had ſomething to offer for the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, which might ſettle all Differences.* It is probable he meant by this, to have reſign'd the Crown; which his Enemies having ſome Intimation of, and fearing it might be accepted, they

they were the more forward to proceed to Sentence and Execution.

About ſetting up the Duke of Glouceſter *King.*

Likewiſe ſome Days before his Death, the prevailing Party had thoughts of ſetting up the Duke of *Glouceſter* King. This was not kept ſo ſecret, but King *Charles* had ſome notice of it; for the Duke and his Siſter having leave to wait upon him the Night before the Execution, he took the young Duke in his Arms, and told him, *They were going to take off his Father's Head, and may be they would ſet the Crown upon his Head; which he forbad him to accept of, while his two Elder Brothers were living.*

There befel him an Accident, which though a Trifle in it ſelf, and that no Weight is to be laid upon any thing of that nature; yet ſince the beſt Authors, both Antient and Modern, have not thought it below the Majeſty of Hiſtory to mention the like, it may be the more excuſable to inſert it.

His conſulting the Sortes Virgilianæ.

The King being at *Oxford* during the Civil Wars, went one day to ſee the Publick Library, where he was ſhewn among other Books a *Virgil* nobly printed, and exquiſitely bound. The Lord *Falkland*, to divert the King, would have his Majeſty make a Tryal of his Fortune by the *Sortes Virgilianæ*; which every body knows was an uſual kind

kind of *Augury* ſome Ages paſt. Whereupon the King opening the Book, the Period which happen'd to come up, was that part of *Dido*'s Imprecation againſt *Æneas*; which Mr. *Dryden* tranſlates thus:

* *Yet let a Race untam'd, and haughty Foes,*
His peaceful Entrance with dire Arms oppoſe;
Oppreſs'd with Numbers in th' unequal Field,
His Men diſcourag'd, and himſelf expell'd,
Let him for Succour ſue from Place to Place,
Torn from his Subjects, and his Son's Embrace.
Firſt let him ſee his Friends in Battle ſlain,
And their untimely Fate lament in vain;
And when at length the cruel War ſhall ceaſe,
On hard Conditions may he buy his Peace.
Nor let him then enjoy Supreme Command,
But fall untimely by ſome hoſtile Hand,
And lie unbury'd on the barren Sand.

* Æneid. IV. *l.* 88.

It is ſaid King *Charles* ſeem'd concern'd at this Accident; and that the Lord *Falkland* obſerving it, would likewiſe try his own Fortune in the ſame manner; hoping he might fall upon ſome Paſſage that could have no relation to his Caſe, and thereby divert the King's Thoughts from any Impreſſion the other might have upon him: But the place that *Falkland* ſtumbled upon, was yet more ſuited to his Deſtiny than the other had been to the King's; being the following Expreſſions of *Evander*, upon the untimely

untimely Death of his Son * *Pallas*, as they are tranſlated by the ſame Hand.

O Pallas! *thou haſt fail'd thy plighted Word,*
To fight with Caution, not to tempt the Sword:
I warn'd thee, but in vain; for well I knew,
What Perils youthful Ardour would purſue:
That boiling Blood would carry thee too far:
Young as thou wer't in Dangers, raw to War!
O curſt Eſſay of Arms, diſaſt'rous Doom,
Prelude of bloody Fields, and Fights to come.

* Æneid. XI. *l.* 230.

To return to our Hiſtory: Upon the Death of King *Charles* I. there was a total Eclipſe of the Royal Family for twelve Years; during a great part of which time an unuſual Meteor fill'd the *Engliſh* Orb, and with its ſurpriſing Influence over-aw'd not only three Kingdoms, but the powerfulleſt Princes and States about us. A great Man he was, and Poſterity might have paid a juſt Homage to his Memory, *if he had not embrued his Hands in the Blood of his Prince, or had not uſurp'd upon the Liberties of his Country.*

It being as natural a Curioſity in Mankind to know the Character of a Fortunate Uſurper, as of a Lawful King, it may not perhaps be much amiſs to ſay ſomething of *Oliver Cromwell.*

By

The Uſurpation and Character of Oliver Cromwell.

By Birth he was a Gentleman, and bred up for ſome time at the Univerſity, though nothing of a Scholar. When the Civil Wars broke out, he took the Parliament's ſide; and his firſt Employment in the Army was a Captain of Horſe, whence by degrees he roſe to be Lieutenant-General under the Earl of *Manchester:* In which Poſt he was the chief Inſtrument, together with Lieutenant-General *Leſley*, of gaining the Battle of *Marſton-Moor*, which prov'd the firſt remarkable Stop to the King's Succeſs. Some time after, the Earl of *Manchester* having refus'd to give an Order to *Cromwell* to charge a Party of Horſe where the King was perſonally preſent, he came up to *London* to complain againſt him, tho' he ow'd his Advancement chiefly to his Favour. Which the Earl having notice of, and being by this time weary of a War of which he foreſaw the fatal Conſequences, he took that Opportunity to lay down his Command: wherein he was ſucceeded by *Cromwell*.

Sir *Thomas Fairfax* alſo laying down his Commiſſion ſome time after, he was declar'd General of all the Forces rais'd or to be rais'd by the Parliament; and having modell'd the Parliament and Army to his mind, he diſmiſs'd the former, when he had no more uſe for them; and upon their forc'd Reſignation, he aſſum'd the Supreme Power, under the Title of Protector.

Being

Being thus mounted to ſo high a Pinnacle of Fortune, he became more formidable both at home and abroad, than moſt Princes that had ever ſat upon the *Engliſh* Throne. And it was ſaid that Cardinal *Mazarine* would change Countenance whenever he heard him nam'd; ſo that it paſs'd into a Proverb in *France*, That *he was not ſo much afraid of the Devil, as of* Oliver Cromwell. He had a manly ſtern Look, and was of an active healthful Conſtitution, able to endure the greateſt Toil and Fatigue. Though brave in his Perſon, yet he was wary in his Conduct; for from the time he was firſt declared Protector, he always wore a Coat of Mail under his Clothes. His Converſation among his Friends was very diverting and familiar, but in publick reſerv'd and grave. He was ſparing in his Diet, though ſometimes would drink freely, but never to Exceſs. He was moderate in all other Pleaſures, and for what was viſible free from Immoralities, eſpecially after he came to make a Figure in the World. He writ a tolerable good Hand, and a Stile becoming a Gentleman; except when he had a mind to wheedle, under the Mask of Religion; which he knew nicely how to do, when his Affairs requir'd it. He affected for the moſt part a Plainneſs in his Clothes; but in them, as well as in his Guards and Attendance, he appear'd with Magnificence upon

publick Occaſions. No Man was ever better ſerv'd, nor took more pains to be ſo. As he was ſevere to his Enemies, ſo was he beneficent and kind to his Friends. And if he came to hear of a Man fit for his purpoſe, tho' never ſo obſcure, he ſent for him, and employ'd him; ſuiting the Employment to the Perſon, and not the Perſon to the Employment. And upon this Maxim in his Government depended in a great meaſure his Succeſs.

In matters of greateſt Moment, he truſted none but his Secretary *Thurlo*, and oftentimes not him. An Inſtance of which *Thurlo* us'd to tell of himſelf; *That he was once commanded by* Cromwell *to go at a certain hour to* Gray's-Inn, *and at ſuch a Place deliver a Bill of twenty thouſand Pounds, payable to the Bearer at* Genoa *to a Man he ſhould find walking in ſuch a Habit and Poſture as he deſcrib'd him, without ſpeaking one Word.* Which accordingly *Thurlo* did; and never knew to his dying Day, either the Perſon or the Occaſion.

At another time the Protector coming late at Night to *Thurlo*'s Office, and beginning to give him Directions about ſomething of great Importance and Secrecy, he took notice that Mr. *Moreland*, one of the Clerks, afterward Sir *Samuel Moreland*, was in the Room, which he had not obſerv'd before; and fearing he might have over-heard their Diſcourſe, tho' he pretended to be aſleep upon his Desk, he drew a Ponyard, which he

he always carried under his Coat, and was going to diſpatch *Moreland* upon the Spot, if *Thurlo* had not with great Intreaties prevail'd with him to deſiſt, aſſuring him that *Moreland* had ſat up two Nights together, and was now certainly faſt aſleep.

There was not the ſmalleſt Accident that befel King *Charles* II. in his Exile, but he knew it perfectly well; inſomuch that having given leave to an *Engliſh* Nobleman to travel, upon condition he ſhould not ſee *Charles Stuart*; he ask'd him at his Return, If he had punctually obey'd his Commands? Which the other affirming he had; *Cromwell* reply'd, *It's true you did not ſee him; for to keep your Word with me, you agreed to meet in the Dark, the Candles being put out for that end.* And withall told him all the Particulars that paſs'd in Converſation betwixt the King and him at their Meeting.

The Buſineſs of Dunkirk.

That he had Spies about King *Charles*, was not ſtrange; but his Intelligence reach'd the moſt ſecret Tranſactions of other Princes, and when the Matter was communicated to but very few. Of which we have a notable Inſtance in the Buſineſs of *Dunkirk*. There was an Article in the Treaty between *France* and the Protector, That if *Dunkirk* came to be taken, it ſhould be immediately deliver'd up to the *Engliſh*; and his Ambaſſador *Lockhart* had Orders to take Poſſeſſion of

of it accordingly. When the *French* Army being joined with the *Engliſh* Auxiliaries, was in its march to inveſt the Town, *Cromwell* ſent one Morning for the *French* Ambaſſador to *Whitehall*, and upbraided him publickly for his Maſter's deſign'd Breach of Promiſe, in giving ſecret Orders to the *French* General to keep Poſſeſſion of *Dunkirk*, in caſe it was taken, contrary to the Treaty between them. The Ambaſſador proteſted he knew nothing of the matter, as indeed he did not, and begg'd leave to aſſure him, that there was no ſuch thing thought of. Upon which *Cromwell* pulling a Paper out of his Pocket, *Here* (ſays he) *is a Copy of the Cardinal's Order: And I deſire you to diſpatch immediately an Expreſs, to let him know, that I am not to be impos'd upon; and that if he deliver not up the Keys of the Town of* Dunkirk *to* Lockhart *within an hour after it ſhall be taken, tell him I'll come in Perſon, and demand them at the Gates of* Paris. There were but four Perſons ſaid to be privy to this Order, the Queen-Mother, the Cardinal, the Mareſchal *de Turenne*, and a Secretary, whoſe Name it is not fit at this time to mention. The Cardinal for a long time blam'd the Queen, as if ſhe might poſſibly have blabb'd it out to ſome of her Women: Whereas it was found after the Secretary's death, that he had kept a ſecret Correſpondence with *Cromwell* for ſeveral Years; and therefore it was not doubted but he had ſent him the Copy of the Order abovemention'd.

The Meſſage had its effect; for *Dunkirk* was put into the Poſſeſſion of the *Engliſh*. And to palliate the Matter, the Duke and Mareſchal *Crequy* was diſpatch'd into *England*, Ambaſſador extraordinary, to compliment *Cromwell*, attended with a numerous and ſplendid Train of Perſons of Quality; among whom was a Prince of the Blood, and *Muncini*, *Mazarine*'s Nephew, who brought a Letter from his Uncle to the Protector, full of the higheſt Expreſſions of Reſpect; and aſſuring his Highneſs, That *being within View of the* Engliſh *Shore*, *nothing but the King's Indiſpoſition* (who lay then ill of the Small-Pox at *Calais*) *could have hinder'd him to come over to* England, *that he might enjoy the Honour of waiting upon one of the greateſt Men that ever was*; *and whom*, *next to his Maſter*, *his greateſt Ambition was to ſerve*. *But being depriv'd of ſo great a Happineſs*, *he had ſent the Perſon that was neareſt to him in Blood*, *to aſſure him of the profound Veneration he had for his Perſon*, *and how much he was reſolv'd*, *to the utmoſt of his Power*, *to cultivate a perpetual Amity and Friendſhip betwixt his Maſter and him*.

Few Princes ever bore their Character higher upon all Occaſions, than *Oliver Cromwell*, eſpecially in his Treaties with crown'd Heads. And 'tis a thing without Example, that's mention'd by one of the beſt inform'd Hiſtorians of the Age, *Puffendorf*, in the Life of the late Elector of *Brandenburgh*; That in *Cromwell*'s

Cromwell's League with *France* againſt *Spain*, he would not allow the *French* King to call himſelf King of *France*, but of the *French*; whereas he took to himſelf not only the Title of *Protector* of *England*, but likewiſe of *France*. And which is yet more ſurprizing, and which can hardly be believ'd, but for the Authority of the Author, whoſe own Words are in the Margin, in the Inſtrument of the Treaty, the Protector's Name was put before the *French* King's. It's true, *France* was then under a Minority, and was not arriv'd at that Greatneſs to which it has ſince attain'd. Towards which *Cromwell* contributed not a little, by that League with *France* againſt *Spain*; being the falſeſt Step he ever made, with reſpect to the Tranquillity of *Europe*.

Puffendorf de Rebus Geſtis Frederici Wilhelmi Electoris Brandenburgici, p. 313. Id porro Bellum Protectoris in Hiſpanoadeo opportunum, Gallo ac cedebat, ut ſummo Studioiſtum fœdere ſibi innectereſtuderet, etiam conceſſo, ut Cromwellus eundem, *Gallorum Regem*, non *Galliarum* nuncuparet aliâ ipſe Protectoris quoque Franciæ, vocabulum, ſicut Angliæ aſſumpturus: Simul pateretur Cromwellum Inſtrumento ſuo Nomen Titulumque ante Gallicum ponere.

As every thing did contribute to the Fall of King *Charles* I. ſo did every thing contribute to the Riſe of *Cromwell*. And as there was no Deſign at firſt againſt the King's Life, ſo it's probable that *Cromwell*

had no Thoughts, for a long time, of ever arriving at what he afterwards was. It is known he was once in the Treaty with the King, after the Army had carried his Majeſty away from *Holmby-Houſe*, to have reſtor'd him to the Throne; which probably he would have done, if the Secret had not been like to take vent, by the Indiſcretion of ſome about the King; which puſhed *Cromwell* on to prevent his own, by the Ruin of the King.

It's likewiſe certain, that the Title of Protector did not ſatisfy his Ambition, but that he aim'd to be King. The matter was for ſome time under Conſideration, both in his Mock-Parliament, and Council of State; inſomuch, that a Crown was actually made, and brought to *Whitehall* for that purpoſe. But the Averſion he found in the Army againſt it, and the fear of the *Commonwealth Party*, obliged him to lay the Thoughts of it aſide, at leaſt for that time. Yet it's probable theſe high Aims did not die, but with himſelf: For to be able with the help of *Spaniſh* Gold to carry on his Deſign in *England*, without depending upon a Parliament for Money, is thought was the true Motive of his Attempt upon *St. Domingo*; which was the only Action of War he fail'd in.

But notwithſtanding his ſpecious Pretenſions to the contrary, *Crommell* invaded and betray'd the Liberties of his Country, and acted a more tyrannical and arbitrary part than

than all the Kings of *England* together had done ſince the *Norman* Conqueſt. And yet after all, his good Fortune accompanied him to the laſt; for after a long Chain of Succeſs, he died in Peace, and in the Arms of his Friends; was buried among the Kings with a Royal Pomp, and his Death condol'd by the greateſt Princes and States of Chriſtendom, in ſolemn Embaſſies to his Son.

But this is not all; for whatever Reaſons the Houſe of *Auſtria* had to hate the Memory of *Cromwell*, yet his cauſing the *Portugal* Ambaſſador's Brother to be executed for a Tumult in *London*, notwithſtanding his Plea of being a publick Miniſter, as well as his Brother, was near twenty Years after *Cromwell*'s Death, brought as a Precedent by the preſent Emperor, to juſtify his arreſting and carrying off the Prince of *Furſtenburgh* at the Treaty of *Cologne*, notwithſtanding *Furſtenburgh*'s being a Plenipotentiary for the Elector of that Name. And in the printed Manifeſto publiſh'd by the Emperor upon that Occaſion, this piece of *Cromwell*'s Juſtice in executing the *Portugueſe* Gentleman, is related at large.

To ſum up *Cromwell*'s Character, it's obſervable, That as the Ides of *March* were equally fortunate and fatal to *Julius Cæſar*, another famous Invader of the Liberties of his Country; ſo was the third of *September* to *Oliver Cromwell*: For on that Day he

was born; on that Day he fought the three great Battles of *Marſton-Moor*, *Worceſter*, and *Dunbar*; and on that day he died.

Cromwell died in the peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Sovereign Power, tho' diſguis'd under another Name, and left it to a Son that had neither Heart nor Abilities to keep it. The Genius of the Nation return'd to its natural Byaſs; and Monarchy was ſo much interwoven with the Laws, Cuſtoms, and the firſt Threads of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, that it was altogether impoſſible it could be ever totally worn out. Our Anceſtors had wiſely ſettled themſelves upon that Bottom; and thoſe very Men that ſome Years before had joſtled out Monarchy, upon the account of its Encroachments upon the Right of the People, were become as zealous now to reſtore it again, upon the Encroachments that the aſſuming part of the People had made of late upon the Rights of their Fellow-Subjects. For near two Years together after *Cromwell*'s Death, the Government of *England* underwent various Shapes, and every Month almoſt produc'd a new Scheme; till in the end all theſe Convulſions co-operated to turn the Nation again upon its true and antient Baſis. Thence it was, that the Son of King *Charles* I. after ten Years Exile, was reſtor'd to his Father's Throne in the Year 1660. without Blood, or any remarkable Oppoſition.

This

This Revolution was the more to be admir'd, ſince not only all Attempts to bring King *Charles* back by Force of Arms, prov'd ineffectual; but that notwithſtanding upon *Cromwell*'s Death, every thing at home ſeem'd to concur to his Reſtoration, yet the bare Name of an *Engliſh* Parliament, tho' but the Shadow of what formerly it was, continued to be ſo terrible abroad, that neither *France* nor *Spain* durſt venture to give King *Charles* the leaſt Aſſiſtance to regain his Throne; but on the contrary, were oblig'd to treat him in a manner altogether unworthy of a crown'd Head: As appears by the following Inſtances at the Treaty of the *Pyrenees*.

The Reſtoration of King Charles II.

King *Charles* after having in vain ſought a Sanctuary in *France*, was neceſſitated to throw himſelf upon the Friendſhip of *Spain*. He was at *Bruſſels* when he receiv'd the News of the Diſpoſition that was in *England* to reſtore him, juſt at the time the Conferences were to begin between Cardinal *Mazarine*, and *Don Lewis de Haro*, the two Plenipotentiaries of *France* and *Spain*, in order to a general Peace. This determin'd King *Charles* to take Poſt from *Bruſſels* through *France* to the Place of Treaty, that he might in Perſon repreſent his Intereſt to theſe two Miniſters.

The Behaviour of the French *and* Spaniards *to K.* Charles II. *at the Treaty of the* Pyrenees.

niſters. He judg'd the *Spaniards* had reaſon to be Enemies to the then Government in *England*, for not only having taken *Dunkirk* and *Jamaica* from them, and enter'd into a League with *Portugal* againſt them, but for endeavouring all that was poſſible to perſuade the *French* to continue the War. Upon the other hand, it was but reaſonable to think that *France* could not be well pleas'd to ſee the *Engliſh* Maſters of ſuch a Frontier Town as *Dunkirk*; or that *Mazarine*, the moſt ambitious Man upon Earth, would not be willing to raiſe his own Glory, by eſpouſing the Cauſe of an exil'd Prince, eſpecially when there was ſo great a Probability of Succeſs.

Memoirs Politick de Monſieur Du Mont

Notwithſtanding all theſe plauſible Appearances, King *Charles* made this long Journey to no purpoſe. It's true, *Don Lewis de Haro* receiv'd him with all poſſible Marks of Reſpect: But the Cardinal poſitively denied him Acceſs. All he could be brought to after ſeveral Meſſages from the King, was to allow the Duke of *Ormond* to talk to him upon the Road from *St. Jean de Luz* to the Place of Treaty, as if it had been but an accidental Rencounter. *Ormond* obtain'd nothing of the Cardinal, but general and ambiguous Anſwers: till being preſs'd, he told *Ormond* plainly, *That all his Maſter could do for his Couſin the King of* England, *was to compaſſionate his Misfortunes*; *as not being*

being in a Condition himſelf to break with the Government of England, *with which his Affairs oblig'd him to keep a good Correſpondence.* Over and above this Neglect of *Mazarine*'s, King *Charles* had the Mortification to ſee Ambaſſador *Lockhart* receiv'd at the ſame time with the greateſt Pomp and Splendor, having the Cardinal's Coaches and Guards ſent a day's Journey to receive him, and the Cardinal giving him the right Hand, which was a reſpect he denied the Ambaſſadors of crown'd Heads. Nor was *Don Lewis* kinder upon the matter to King *Charles*, notwithſtanding all his Civilities; for having aſk'd the Command of the Army in *Flanders*, which the Prince of *Conde* was by the Treaty oblig'd to quit, *Don Lewis* refus'd it. All which will be a laſting Example to Poſterity, how little Truſt is to be repos'd in foreign Aid, when a Prince comes to need it, for recovering his Throne.

Monk's *part in the Reſtoration.*

It were the higheſt Injuſtice to deny General *Monk* the greateſt ſhare of the Honour in reſtoring King *Charles* II. and yet it is a queſtion whether his Deſign to do it, was of ſo long ſtanding as ſome have reported. It's probable he had no Thoughts that way, till about the time that *Richard Cromwell* was depriv'd of the Government: In which he was afterwards the more confirm'd, upon the Army in *England*'s ſetting up once more for themſelves. If he had

really form'd an Intention at that time to bring back the King, it muſt be confeſs'd he acted the part of a Politician much better than that of a Chriſtian; for he declar'd once again at that time, for a Commonwealth, without the King, a ſingle Perſon, or Houſe of Lords; and formerly renounc'd the Family of the *Stuarts*. All which will appear by a letter ſign'd by him and his Officers to the Parliament, upon *Richard*'s Abdication, and the Declaration it ſelf, mention'd at length in the Appendix.

Appendix, *Numb.* 11. *Pag.* 309.

It's hardly to be imagin'd he had a mind to ſet up for himſelf, as his Enemies have given out; for he could not but ſee the whole Nation was returning apace to their antient Monarchical Principles; and therefore he had little elſe to do, but to comply a while with the Times, till by declaring for a free Parliament, he pav'd the Way for the King's Return. It's certain the People that then aſſum'd the ſupreme Power, were jealous of his Intentions; and it was within an Ace he eſcaped a Trap laid for him, juſt at the time when he was ready to march from *Scotland*, which would have inevitably ruin'd his Deſign, if a mere Accident had not interven'd.

For *Monk* keeping his ordinary Reſidence at *Dalkeith*, ſome four Miles on this ſide of *Edinburgh*; the *London* Pacquet touch'd

conſtantly there, that the General might have his Letters before it reach'd *Edinburgh*. The Committee of Safety being reſolv'd to ſecure *Monk*, diſpatch'd ſecret Orders to *Scotland* by the ordinary Pacquet, leſt an Expreſs might give Suſpicion; and inſtead of directing the Label for *Dalkeith*, as was uſual, it was order'd ſtrait for *Edinburgh*. It happen'd that one of *Monk*'s Lifeguard met accidently the Poſt turning out of the Road that led to *Dalkeith*; and finding he had not touch'd there, he brought him back, notwithſtanding the Label was directed otherwiſe. *Monk* ſuſpecting ſomething, open'd all the Letters that he found directed to the Officers of the Army; among which there was one from the Committee of Safety to Colonel *Thomas Wilks*, ordering him to uſe the moſt effectual, ſpeedy, and ſecret way to ſecure the Perſon of General *Monk*, and to ſend him up to *London* under a ſtrong Guard, in a Frigate that lay in *Leith* Road; and then to take upon him the Command of the Army, till farther Order.

Having taken out this, and what other Letters he thought fit, together with his own from the ſame Committee, full of high Compliments, and Expreſſions of Truſt, he ſent away the Pacquet as it was directed. But having communicated the matter to ſome of his particular Friends, he gave Orders for a general Review of the Army to be made next Morning at *Edinburgh*, where

he arreſted Colonel *Wilks*, and ſome other Officers he had reaſon to ſuſpect, and ſent them Priſoners to the Caſtle; filling up their Commiſſions with others of his own Creatures.

Monk in his March through *England*, and after he came to *London*, carried on the Thread of Diſſimulation with wonderful Dexterity, till all things were fully ripe for throwing off the Maſk, and calling home the King. As he was ſingularly happy in being the chief Inſtrument of that Revolution, he was no leſs in the Senſe King *Charles* continued to expreſs of ſo great an Obligation. And it ſhew'd him to be a Man of true Judgment, That the Duke of *Albemarle* behav'd himſelf in ſuch a manner to the Prince he had thus oblig'd, as never to ſeem to overvalue the Services of General *Monk*.

King *Charles* II. prov'd one of the fineſt Gentlemen of the Age, and had Abilities to make one of the beſt of Kings. The firſt Years of his Reign were a continual Jubilee. And while we were reaping the Fruits of Peace at home, after the Miſeries of a long Civil War, a potent Neighbour was laying the Foundation of a Power abroad, that has ſince been the Envy and Terror of *Europe*. One might have thought that his Parliament had glutted his Ambition to the full, by heaping thoſe Prerogatives upon him, which had been conteſted for with his Father, at the Expence of ſo much Blood

Blood and Treaſure: But he graſp'd early after more, and from his firſt Acceſſion to the Crown, ſhow'd but little Inclination to depend upon Parliaments. Of which we have a remarkable Inſtance in an Affair that was one of the true Cauſes of the Diſgrace of that Great Man, Chancellor *Clarendon*, which happen'd a few Years after.

It looks as if Heaven took a more than ordinary Care of *England*, that we did not throw up our Liberties all at once, upon the Reſtoration of that King; for tho' ſome were for bringing him back upon Terms, yet after he was once come, he poſſeſs'd ſo intirely the Hearts of his People, that they thought nothing was too much for them to grant, or for him to receive. Among other Deſigns to pleaſe him, there was one form'd at Court, to ſettle ſuch a Revenue upon him by Parliament during Life, as ſhould place him beyond the Neceſſity of asking more, except in the Caſe of a War, or ſome ſuch extrordinary Occaſion. The Earl of *Southampton*, Lord High Treaſurer, came heartily into it, out of a mere Principle of Honour and Affection to the King; but Chancellor *Clarendon* ſecretly oppos'd it. It happen'd that they two had a private Conference about the matter; and the Chancellor being earneſt to bring the Treaſurer to his Opinion, took the Freedom to tell him, that he was better acquainted with the King's Temper and Inclinations, than *Southampton* could

could reaſonably expect to be, having had long and intimate Acquaintance with his Majeſty abroad; and that he knew him ſo well, that if ſuch a Revenue was once ſettled upon him for Life, neither of them two would be of any farther uſe; and that they were not in probability to ſee many more Seſſions of Parliament during that Reign. *Southampton* was brought over; but this Paſſage could not be kept ſo ſecret, but it came to King *Charles* his Ears, which together with other things wherein *Clarendon* was miſrepreſented to him, prov'd the true reaſon why he abandon'd him to his Enemies.

Notwithſtanding this Diſappointment King *Charles* made a ſhift, partly by his obliging Carriage, partly by other Inducements to get more Money from his firſt Parliament towards the Expence of his Pleaſures, than all his Predeceſſors of the *Norman* Race, had obtain'd before, towards the Charges of their Wars. This Parliament had like to have been perpetual; if the Vigor wherewith they began to proſecute the Popiſh Plot, and the Reſentment they expreſs'd againſt his Brother, had not oblig'd him, much againſt his Will, to part with them, after they had ſat near nineteen Years.

The Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot.

That there was at that time a Popiſh Plot, and that there always has been one ſince the Reformation, to ſupport, if not reſtore the Romiſh Religion in *England*, ſcarce

ſcarce any body calls in queſtion. How far the near proſpect of a Popiſh Succeſſor ripen'd the Hopes, and gave new Vigor to the Deſigns of that Party, and what Methods they were then upon, to bring thoſe Deſigns about, *Coleman*'s Letters alone, without any other concurring Evidence, are more than ſufficient to put the matter out of doubt. But what Superſtructures might have been afterwards built upon an unqueſtionable Foundation, and how far ſome of the Witneſſes of that Plot might come to darken Truth by ſubſequent Additions of their own, muſt be defer'd till the great Account, to be made before a higher Tribunal: And till then, a great part of the Popiſh Plot, as it was then ſworn to, will in all human probability lie among the darkeſt Scenes of our *Engliſh* Hiſtory. However, this is certain, the Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot had great and various Effects upon the Nation: And it's from this remarkable Period of Time, we may juſtly reckon a new *Æra* in the *Engliſh* Account.

Its Effects.

In the firſt place, it awaken'd the Nation out of a deep Lethargy they had been in for nineteen Years together; and alarm'd them with Fears and Jealouſies that have been found to our ſad Experience but too well grounded. In the next, it gave the Riſe to, at leaſt ſettled that unhappy Diſtinction of *Whig* and *Tory* among the People of *England*, that has ſince occaſion'd

ſion'd ſo many Miſchiefs. And laſtly, the Diſcovery of the Popiſh Plot began that open Struggle between King *Charles* and his People, that occaſion'd him not only to diſſolve his firſt Favourite Parliament, and the three others that ſucceeded; but likewiſe to call no more during the reſt of his Reign. All which made way for bringing in queſtion the Charters of *London*, and other Corporations, with a great many diſmal Effects that follow'd. It was likewiſe about this time, that a certain Set of Men began a ſecond time to adopt into our Religion a Mahometan Principle, under the Names of Paſſive-Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance; which ſince the time of the Impoſtor that firſt broach'd it, has been the means to enſlave a great part of the World.

The Bill of Excluſion.

The great ſhare which the Duke of *York* was ſuppos'd to have had very early, in a Deſign to overturn our Religion and Liberties, and the mighty Hopes which the near Proſpect of a Popiſh Succeſſor gave the Roman Catholicks, of bringing about their grand Project of rooting out the *Northern* Hereſy, were the Reaſons why a great part of both Houſes of Parliament had recourſe to a Bill of Excluſion againſt the Duke, as the only effectual means they could think on in that Juncture, to prevent our intended Ruin. This Prince had been privately reconcil'd to *Rome* in the time of his Exile: But it ſeems it was not

not thought convenient he ſhould declare himſelf till ſeveral Years after. And though he had abandon'd the Worſhip of the Church of *England*, it was accounted a heinous Crime to ſay he was a *Roman* Catholick, when every body knew that he was one; and ſome were fin'd in great Sums of Money for ſaying it. King *Charles*'s Converſion (if we believe *Huddleſton* the Prieſt) was of an older Date: But, if true, he either wanted Courage, or thought it not his Intereſt to declare himſelf in his Life-time. If he had any Deſign of introducing Popery, he knew the Temper of the Nation too well, to imagine it could be brought about in a ſhort time, or by ſuch open and barefac'd Methods as his Brother was pleas'd afterwards to put in practice.

But the truth is, King *Charles* was neither Bigot enough to any Religion, nor lov'd his Eaſe ſo little, as to embark in a Buſineſs that muſt at leaſt have diſturb'd his Quiet, if not hazarded his Crown. The Romiſh Emiſſaries knowing this, were reſolved to make ſure of one of the Brothers: And the Duke was now the riſing Sun; King *Charles* having no Proſpect of Iſſue by the Queen. It was not the Roman Catholicks alone, that began to pay him their early Devotions; there were others that came nothing ſhort of them in their Addreſſes to him. He had in the time of his Baniſhment, and after the Reſtoration, acquir'd

quir'd the Reputation of being Brave, and skill'd in the Art of War: *Flanders* and the Ocean were the Theatres on which he had given unqueſtionable Proofs of both; having commanded the *Spaniſh* Horſe in the one, and the *Engliſh* Fleet on the other. From a Prince thus poſſeſs'd of a Warlike Character, and thus devoted to the See of *Rome*, it was no wonder the Roman Catholicks expected, and the Proteſtants fear'd ſome extraordinary Change in *England*, if ever he ſhould come to wear the Crown. And therefore as it was the Intereſt of the firſt to have him upon the Throne, ſo it was equally the Intereſt of the latter to exclude him from it.

It's ſaid King *Charles* came in at firſt to the Bill of Excluſion, or ſeem'd to do ſo. The Favourite Miſtreſs was prevail'd with, from ſecret Motives and Proſpects of her own, to concur with others in perſuading him to abandon his Brother; and waving the Duke's Right, to accept of an Act of Parliament in his own Favour, like that made in the Reign of *Henry* VIII. by which he ſhould have a Power inveſted in him, to diſpoſe of the Crown at his Death under ſuch Reſtrictions and Limitations as ſhould be agreed on.

Whether any ſuch Act was really intended, it's hard to determine; but it's certain ſuch an Offer was made to King *Charles*, with a Promiſe of a conſiderable Sum of Money

Money towards the ſupplying his preſſing Wants. It's likewiſe certain, that King *Charles* ſeem'd willing to accept of it; till it happen'd that a Foreign Court, whoſe Intereſt it was to ſupport the Duke of *York*, ſtruck up a Bargain with the King, to give him more Money for refuſing, than had been offer'd him for conſenting to the Bill of Excluſion.

Some time before the Popiſh Plot came upon the Stage, King *Charles* had been prevail'd with to marry the eldeſt of his Nieces to the Prince of *Orange*, as he did afterwards the youngeſt to the Prince of *Denmark*: The happieſt Actions of his Life, and by which he made a ſufficient Atonement for all the Errors of his Reign. It were Ingratitude to enquire too narrowly into the Motives that induc'd him to theſe Matches: It's enough to entail a laſting Honour on his Name, that he did it, and did it againſt the Advice of his Brother, and in ſpite of all the Sollicitations that were made to him from abroad, to marry them to Princes of the Romiſh Religion. The Parliament had in their view the Princeſs of *Orange* in the Bill of Excluſion; and it was She and the Prince her Husband that were to have fill'd the Throne, upon the Death of their Uncle. But King *Charles* either not daring, or not willing to conſent to the Bill, he diſſolv'd both that and the next Parliament at *Oxford*, merely

merely to ward off the Blow that threatn'd his Brother.

After the Diſſolution of the *Oxford* Parliament, King *Charles* ſhew'd but little Inclination to call any more; and was prevail'd with to enter into harſher Meaſures than hitherto he had taken; and which ſeem'd contrary to his natural Goodneſs and Temper. The Charters of the City of *London*, and other Corporations, ſtood in the way of an abſolute Government; and it was reſolv'd to break through this Barrier. In order to which, *Quo Warranto's* were brought againſt them; and in progreſs of time they were either ſurrendred by the Corporations themſelves, or vacated in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, by a ſet of Judges pickt out for that purpoſe. And it was reſolv'd thereby to make one of the Eſtates of Parliament depend entirely upon the Will and Nomination of the Prince.

While theſe *Quo Warranto's* were going on, whole Peals of Anathema's were rung out againſt thoſe Patriots that had ſtood up for the Liberties of their Country in the preceding Parliaments. And it was look'd upon as a Crime againſt the State, for any one to regret the approaching Fate of his Country. Even the Holy Scriptures themſelves were made a Stale for Arbitrary Power; and the Laws which were given to the *Jews* as they were a Political State, were now brought in upon every occaſion, to countenance

nance the Deſigns of the Court. As if thoſe Laws which were intended only to ſupport the Political Government of the *Jews*, were the real Foundation of the Chriſtian Religion; or that the Conſtitution of *England* was founded upon the *Jewiſh* Doctrine. All which was not much for the Honour of thoſe Gentlemen that broach'd that Notion. This was a time never to be forgot, when to wiſh well to our Country, was a Crime; and when Heaven it ſelf was rank'd upon our Enemies ſide, by ſome that pretended to expound its Will. In ſome Places a new kind of Funeral Harangues came in faſhion: Our Laws, our Liberties, our Parliaments, our Native Rights were to be buried; but inſtead of dropping a Tear at their Funeral, fulſome Panegyricks were made upon their Murderers, and Curſes denounc'd againſt thoſe that would have retriev'd them from Deſtruction.

The Diſgrace of the Duke of Monmouth, *and its Conſequences.*

All theſe Tranſactions were attended with the publick Diſgrace of the Duke of *Monmouth*. This Gentleman ſtood poſſeſs'd of all the Qualities requiſite to gain him the Love of the People, and ſtir up the Jealouſy of the Duke of *York*. King *Charles* had heap'd Honours upon him; and nothing pleas'd him ſo much as to ſee him Great. He had been ſent to *Scotland* in the Year 1679. to ſuppreſs an Inſurrection which the Severity of *Lauder-*

dale's Adminiſtration had occaſion'd; where his Lenity towards a People made by Oppreſſion mad, gain'd him the Ill-will of a predominant Party at Court. The Zeal he ſhew'd ſome time after in the Proſecution of the Popiſh Plot, and his Friendſhips with ſome that were profeſs'd Enemies to the Duke, concur'd to his Fall. Yet King *Charles* ſtill continued underhand the ſame Tenderneſs for him; tho' he was declar'd in publick to be in Diſgrace. The Duke's Faction at home, and a Foreign Intereſt abroad, were too powerful for King *Charles* to grapple with, even tho' the Fortune of a Favourite Son was at ſtake.

The Proteſtant Plot.

The more he was depreſs'd by the Envy of his Uncle, the higher he aroſe in the Affections of the People; till the breaking out of what was call'd the Proteſtant Plot, overwhelm'd not only him, but a whole Party with him. This Plot was in ſome part a greater Myſtery than the Popiſh Plot had been before, and had more diſmal Effects. The ſhatter'd Remains of *Engliſh* Liberty were then attack'd on every ſide; and ſome of the nobleſt Blood in the Nation was offer'd up a Sacrifice to the *Manes* of Popiſh Martyrs, and made to atone for the Bill of Excluſion. Swearing came once more into faſhion, and a new Evidence-Office was erected at *Whitehall*. But whereas the Witneſſes of the Popiſh Plot were brow-beaten

beaten and diſcourag'd, thoſe of the Proteſtant Plot were highly encourag'd; and inſtead of Judges and Juries that might perhaps boggle at Half-Evidence, as it fell out in the Proſecution of the former; care was taken in this to pick out ſuch as ſhould ſtick at nothing to ſerve a Turn. It was by ſuch Judges and Juries that the Lord *Ruſſel* and Mr. *Sidney* fell; and the cutting off thoſe two Noble Lives, may be reckon'd among the firſt Triumphs of the Duke's Party in *England*.

It's true, King *Charles* ſeem'd inclin'd to pardon both the one and the other; and the very day the Lord *Ruſſel* was executed, ſome Words eſcap'd him, that ſhew'd ſufficiently his Irreſolution in that matter: But by this time he was too far gone, to make a handſome Retreat on a ſudden; and there was obſerv'd ever after, a ſenſible Change in his Temper: for from an Eaſineſs and Debonairneſs that was natural to him, he came at length to treat Men with hard Names, and upon ſome occaſions to expreſs a Severity in his Diſpoſition, that he had been ever averſe to before.

The reſt of that Reign was one continued Invaſion upon the Rights of the People, and the Nation ſeem'd unwilling now to contend for them any more. King *Charles*, notwithſtanding his great Abilities and Fitneſs for Buſineſs, appear'd to be quite lull'd aſleep with the Charms of a new ſwell'd up Prerogative; and while ſome of our Neighbours were

were playing their Game to the Prejudice of *England* abroad, and the Duke's Creatures were managing all things to their own Mind at Home; Nature prevail'd upon King *Charles* at length, and the Shame of ſeeing himſelf impos'd upon by others far ſhort of him in Parts, and that the Court was anticipating his Death, by their Addreſſes to his Brother, as if he had been already King, did help to awaken him out of his Slumber, and brought him to lay a Project for a mighty Change in the Affairs of *England*, which probably might have made both him and the Nation happy. If he had liv'd but a few Weeks longer, *Monmouth* had been recall'd to Court, the Duke of *York* had been ſent beyond Sea, and a new Parliament conven'd. But what farther was to follow, muſt be buried with his Aſhes, there being nothing left us but bare Suſpicions of what might have been. This is certain, his Death came opportunely for the Duke; and in ſuch a Manner, and with ſuch Circumſtances, as will be a Problem to Poſterity, whether he died a natural Death, or was haſten'd to his Grave by Treachery.

The Death of K. Charles II.

In ſo nice a Point as this is, it becomes one that would write impartially, to ſet down with the exacteſt Fidelity, every thing of moment of either Side, that may determine the Reader in his Judgment, without venturing to give his own. This Rule I have ſet to my ſelf, in laying down the following Particulars. It's

The Suſpicions about the Manner of it conſider'd.

It's confeſt few Princes come to die a ſudden death, but the World is apt to attribute it to foul Play, eſpecially if attended with unuſual Circumſtances in the Time and Manner of it. King *Charles* had a healthful Conſtitution beyond moſt Men, and took great care to preſerve it by Diet and Exerciſe which naturally promiſe a long Life. And it was more extraordinary to ſee ſuch a Man die before Threeſcore, than another in the Bloom of Youth. Now if he died a Natural Death, it's agreed by all, that it muſt have been an Apoplexy. This Diſeaſe ſeizes all the Vital Faculties at once; and yet for the moſt part, does not only give ſome ſhort Warnings of its approach, by unuſual Affections of the Head, but many times is occaſion'd by ſome evident preceding Cauſe. In King *Charles*'s Caſe, there appear'd no viſible Cauſe either near or remote, to which with any certainty of Reaſon, his Diſeaſe could be aſcrib'd, and the Forerunners of it were rather to be found in the Stomach and Bowels, than in the Head. For after he was a-bed he was over-heard to groan moſt of the Night: And both then, and next Morning, before he fell into the *Fit*, he complain'd firſt of a heavy Oppreſſion in his Stomach, and about his Heart, and afterwards of a ſharp Pain in thoſe Parts; all which Symptoms had but little relation to an Apoplexy. That Morning there appear'd

to every body about him a Ghaſtlineſs and Paleneſs in his Looks: And when he ſat down to be ſhav'd, juſt before the Fit took him, he could not ſit ſtreight, as he uſed to do, but continued in a ſtooping Poſture, with his Hand upon his Stomach, till the Fit came. After he had been brought out of it by opening a Vein, he complain'd of a racking Pain in his Stomach, and of no Indiſpoſition any where elſe: And during the whole time of his Sickneſs, and even when he ſeem'd moſt inſenſible, he was obſerved to lay his Hand for the moſt part upon his Stomach, in a moaning Poſture, and continued ſo to his Death. And ſo violent was the Pain, that when all hopes were gone, the Phyſicians were deſir'd to uſe all their Art to procure him an eaſy Death.

So much for the Diſtemper it ſelf: There remain ſome things to be taken notice of, that fell out before and after his Death. A few days before he was taken ill, King *Charles* being in Company where the preſent poſture of Affairs was diſcours'd of, there eſcap'd him ſome warm Expreſſions about the uneaſy Circumſtances he was plung'd into, and the ill Meaſures had been given him; and how in a certain particular Affair he was pleas'd to mention he had been abus'd: Adding in ſome Paſſion, *That if he liv'd but a Month longer, he would find a way to make himſelf eaſy for the reſt of his Life.* This Paſſage was whiſper'd abroad next day; and the Rumour

mour of recalling the Duke of *Monmouth*, and ſending away the Duke of *York*, came to take Air about the ſame time. Indeed all things were making ready, to put the latter in execution; and there is reaſon to believe the King had intimated as much to the Duke himſelf; for ſome of his richeſt Furntture was put up, and his chief Servants order'd to be in a readineſs to attend their Maſter upon an Hour's Warning; and Yachts were waiting to tranſport ſome Perſon of Quality, without mentioning who it was, or whither bound. The Romiſh Party that manag'd about Court, were obſerv'd to be more than ordinary diligent and buſy up and down *Whitehall* and *St. James's*, as if ſome very important Affair was in agitation; and a new and unuſual Concern was to be ſeen on their Countenances. Nor was it any wonder; for in this ſuſpected Change they were like to be the only Loſers, and all their teeming Hopes were in a fair way to be diſappointed. How far the Principles of ſome of that Party might leave them at liberty to puſh on their Revenge for this deſign'd Affront, as well as to prevent the Blow that threaten'd them, tho' without the Privacy, much leſs the Conſent of the Duke of *York*, is left to the Reader to judge.

There was a Foreign Miniſter, that ſome days before the King fell ill, order'd his Steward to buy a conſiderable Parcel of black Cloth, which ſerv'd him and his Retinue after for Mourning: And the late Am-

baſſador *Don Pedro Ronquillo*, made it no Secret that he had a Letter from *Flanders* the Week before King *Charles* died, that took notice of his Death, as the News there. But both theſe might fall out by mere Accident.

There remain two things more, that deſerve ſome Conſideration in this matter. When his Body was open'd, there was not ſufficient time given for taking an exact Obſervation of his Stomach and Bowels; which one would think ought chiefly to have been done, conſidering the violent Pains he had there: And when a certain Phyſician ſeem'd to be more inquiſitive than ordinary about the Condition of thoſe Parts, he was taken aſide, and reproved for his *needleſs Curioſity*. In the next place, his Body ſtunk ſo extremely within a few Hours after his Death, notwithſtanding the Coldneſs of the Seaſon, that the People about him were extremely offended with the Smell: Which is a thing very extraordinary in one of his ſtrong and healthful Conſtitution; and is not a proper Conſequent of a mere *Apoplectical* Diſtemper.

There was ſome Weight laid upon an Accident that fell out at *Windſor* ſome Years before his Death: For the King drinking more liberally than uſual, after the Fatigue of Riding, he retir'd to the next Room; and wrapping himſelf up in his Cloak, fell aſleep upon a Couch. He was but a little time come back to the Company, when a Servant belonging to one of them, lay down upon the

the ſame Couch, in the King's Cloak, and was found ſtabb'd dead with a Ponyard. Nor was it ever known how it happen'd, but the matter huſh'd up, and no Enquiry made about it.

To conclude; Dr. *Short*, who was a Man of great Probity and Learning, and a Roman Catholick, made no Scruple to declare his Opinion to ſome of his intimate Friends, that he believ'd King *Charles* had foul Play done him: And when he came to die himſelf, expreſs'd ſome Suſpicion that he had met with the ſame Treatment for opening his Mind too freely in that Point.

So much for the Circumſtances of King *Charles*'s Death, that ſeem to have an ill Aſpect. There are others that ſeem to deſtroy all Suſpicions of Treachery in the matter.

As Firſt, He had liv'd ſo faſt, as might enervate in a great meaſure the Natural Force of his Conſtitution, and exhauſt his Animal Spirits; and therefore he might be more ſubject to an Apoplexy, which is a Diſeaſe that weakens and locks up theſe Spirits from performing their uſual Functions. And though in his later Years he had given himſelf up more to the Pleaſures of Wine than of Women, that might rather be the effect of Age than of Choice.

Next, it's known he had been once or twice attack'd before, with Fits that much reſembled thoſe of which he afterwards

died: And yet as the manner of them is told, they look rather to have been *Convulsive Motions*, that an *Apoplexy*; seeing they were attended with violent Contorsions of his Face, and Convulsions of his whole Body and Limbs. This is the more confirm'd, by a Passage that happen'd during the Heat of the Popish Plot. King *Charles* had some secret Matters to manage at that time, by the means of a Romish Priest, then beyond Sea, whom he order'd to be privately sent for: And the Gentleman employ'd betwixt the King and him (from whom I had the Story) was directed to bring him in a Disguise to *Whitehall*. The King and the Priest were a considerable time together alone in the Closet, and the Gentleman attended in the next Room: At last the Priest came out with all the Marks of Fright and Astonishment in his Face; and having recover'd himself a little, he told the Gentleman, That he had run the greatest Risque ever Man did; for while he was the with King, his Majesty was suddenly surpriz'd with a Fit, accompanied with violent Convulsions of his Body, and Contorsions of his Face, which lasted for some Moments; and when he was going to call out for help, the King held him by force till it was over, and then bid him not be afraid, for he had been troubled with the like before: the Priest adding what a condition he should have been in, considering his Religion, and the present

preſent Juncture of Affairs, if the King had died of that Fit, and no body in the Room with him beſides himſelf.

But leaving the Story to the Credit of the Prieſt; there might be another Natural Cauſe aſſign'd for King *Charles*'s falling into ſuch a Fit as that of which he died; which is this: He had had for ſome time an Iſſue in his Leg, which run much, and conſequently muſt have made a great Revulſion from his Head, upon which account it's probable it was made. A few Weeks before his Death, he had let it be dried up, contrary to the Advice of his Phyſicians, who told him it would prejudice his Health. Their Prognoſtick was partly true in this, that there came a painful Tumour upon the place where the Iſſue had been, which proved very obſtinate, and was not throughly heal'd up when he died.

In fine, it is agreed on all hands, that King *Charles* expreſs'd no Suſpicion of his being poiſon'd, during all the time of his Sickneſs: Tho' it muſt be alſo obſerv'd, that the Fits were ſo violent, that he could not ſpeak when they were upon him, and ſhew'd an Averſion to ſpeaking during the Intervals. And there was not any thing to be ſeen upon opening his Body, that could reaſonably be attributed to the force of Poiſon. Yet to allow theſe Conſiderations no more weight than they can well bear, this muſt be acknowledg'd, That there are Poi-

ſons which affect originally the animal Spirits, and are of ſo ſubtle a Nature, that they leave no concluding Marks upon the Bodies of thoſe they kill.

The Character of K. Charles *II.*

Thus reign'd, and thus dy'd King *Charles* II. a Prince endow'd with all the Qualities that might juſtly have render'd him the Delight of Mankind, and entitled him to the Character of one of the greateſt Genius's that ever ſat upon a Throne, if he had not ſullied thoſe excellent Parts with the ſoft Pleaſures of Eaſe, and had not entertain'd a fatal Friendſhip, that was incompatible with the Intereſt of *England*. His Religion was Deiſm, or rather that which is call'd ſo: and if in his Exile, or at his Death, he went into that of *Rome*; the firſt was to be imputed to a Complaiſance for the Company he was then oblig'd to keep, and the laſt to a lazy Diffidence in all other Religions, upon a Review of his paſt Life, and the near approach of an uncertain State. His Perſon was tall and well made, his Conſtitution vigorous and healthy; and it's hard to determine, whether he took more pains to preſerve it by Diet and Exerciſe, or to impair it by Exceſs in his Pleaſures. In Health he was a great pretender to Phyſick, and encourager of Quacks, by whom he was often cheated of conſiderable Sums of Money for their pretended Secrets: But whenever he was indiſpos'd, he conſulted his Phyſicians,

Phyſicians, and depended on their Skill only.

His Face was compos'd of harſh Features, difficult to be trac'd with the Pencil, yet in the main it was agreeable; and he had a noble Majeſtick Mein. In contradiction to all the common receiv'd Rules of Phyſiognomy, he was Merciful, Good-natur'd, and in the laſt twenty four Years of his Life, Fortunate, if to ſucceed in moſt of his Deſigns, may be call'd ſo. Never Prince lov'd Ceremony leſs, or deſpis'd the Pageantry of a Crown more; yet he was Maſter of ſomething in his Perſon and Aſpect, that commanded both Love and Veneration at once. He was a great Votary to Love, and yet the eaſieſt and moſt unconcern'd Rival. He was for the moſt part not very nice in the choice of his Miſtreſſes, and ſeldom poſſeſs'd of their firſt Favours, yet would ſacrifice all to pleaſe them; and upon every Caprice of theirs, denied himſelf the uſe of his Reaſon, and acted contrary to his Intereſt. He was a Reſpectful Civil Husband; a fond Father, a kind Brother, and eaſy Enemy; but none of the firmeſt or moſt grateful Friends: Bountiful by ſtarts; one day Laviſh to his Servants, the next leaving them to ſtarve: Glad to win a little Money at Play, and impatient to loſe but the thouſandth part of what within an Hour after he would throw away in groſs. He ſeem'd to have had nothing of Jealouſy in his Nature, either in matters of Love or Power.

He bore patiently Rivals in the one, and Competitors in the other; otherwiſe he would not have contributed to a Foreign Greatneſs at Sea, nor given his Brother ſo uncontroul'd a Share in the Government.

Tho' his Underſtanding was quick and lively, with a vaſt Compaſs of Thought, yet he would ſubmit his Judgment in the greateſt Matters, to others of much inferior Parts: And as he had an extraordinary Share of Wit himſelf, ſo he loved it in others even when pointed againſt his own Faults and Miſmanagements. He had read but little, yet had a good Taſte of Learning, and would reaſon nicely upon moſt Sciences. The Mechanicks were one of his peculiar Talents, eſpecially the Art of building and working of Ships; which no body underſtood better, nor, if he had liv'd, would have carried it farther. He had a ſtrong Laconick way of Expreſſion, and a Genteel, Eaſy, and Polite way of Writing: and when he had a mind to lay aſide the King, which he often did in ſelect Companies of his own, there were a thouſand irreſiſtible Charms in his Converſation. He lov'd Money only to ſpend it: And would privately accept of a ſmall Sum paid to himſelf, in lieu of a far greater to be paid into the Exchequer.

He lov'd not Buſineſs, and ſought every occaſion to avoid it; which was one reaſon that he paſs'd ſo much of his time with his Miſtreſſes: Yet when Neceſſity call'd him,

none of his Council could reaſon more cloſely upon matters of State; and he would often by fits out-do his Miniſters in Application and Diligence. No Age produc'd a greater Maſter in the Art of Diſſimulation; and yet no Man was leſs upon his Guard, or ſooner deceiv'd in the Sincerity of others. If he had any one fix'd Maxim of Government, it was to play one Party againſt another, to be thereby the more Maſter of both: And no Prince underſtood better how to ſhift hands upon every Change of the Scene. To ſum up his Character, he was dextrous in all the Arts of Inſinuation; and had acquir'd ſo great an Aſcendant over the Affections of his People, in ſpite of all the unhappy Meaſures he had taken, that it may in ſome ſenſe be ſaid, He died opportunely for *England*; ſince if he had liv'd, it's probable we might in compliance with him have complimented our ſelves out of all the Remains of Liberty, if he had had but a mind to be Maſter of them; which it's but Charity to believe he had not, at leaſt immediately before his Death.

There is one thing more that may help to make up the Character of this Prince, That in the Lines and Shape of his Face (all but the Teeth) he had a great Reſemblance of the antient Buſtoes and Statues we have of the Emperor *Tiberius*; inſomuch that one of the moſt Learned Men of his Age told me, That walking in the *Farneſian* Gardens at *Rome*, with a noble *Italian* that had been at

the Court of *England*, he took notice of this Reſemblance in an Antique Statue of *Tiberius*; and asking the *Italian* if he remembered any Prince he had ſeen that reſembled it, the other immediately nam'd King *Charles*. As there was a great Likeneſs betwixt theſe two Princes in their Faces, there was likewiſe ſome in their Maxims of Government, the time of their Age in which they came to govern, the length of their Reigns, and the Suſpicions about the manner of their Death. And indeed, excepting *Tiberius*'s Temper, his Cruelty, Jealouſy, and unnatural Luſts, any one that's acquainted with both their Stories, will eaſily find ſomething of a Parallel betwixt them. Nor is this any Reflection upon the Memory of King *Charles*; for except in what I nam'd, *Tiberius* may be reckon'd among the wiſeſt and the braveſt of thoſe that wore the Imperial Purple.

The Reign of King James II.

Upon King *Charles*'s Death, *James* Duke of *York* mounted the Throne, by the Name of King *James* II. All the former Heats and Animoſities againſt him, and even the very Memory of a Bill of Excluſion ſeem'd to be now quite forgot, amidſt the loud Acclamations of his People at his Acceſſion to the Crown. He had many Years of Experience when he came to it; and few of his Predeceſſors could boaſt of the like Advantages: In moſt of the Tranſactions of the preceding Reign, he had borne a conſiderable

derable Share as to Action, but much more as to Counſel and Influence. In the Poſt of Lord High Admiral of *England*, he had large Opportunities to be fully acquainted with the native Strength, and peculiar Intereſt of the Nation, I mean the Affairs of the Navy; in which he had acquir'd deſervedly a great Reputation. He had met with but too many Occaſions to underſtand the Genius and Temper of the People he was to govern, and to know how far it was impracticable to overturn the eſtabliſh'd Religion, or to introduce a new one; for he had wreſtled through a great many Difficulties upon the account of his own. He could not but have a true Value for his Brother's great Parts and Abilities, and be acquainted with the Arts by which he gain'd and preſerv'd the Affections of his People, notwithſtanding all the Hardſhips he had been induc'd ſometimes to put upon them: And he had ſeen how fearful and averſe he had been to puſh things too far, or to drive his Subjects to Extremities.

He had before him the fatal Example of a Father, who tho' he was a Proteſtant, yet upon a falſe Suſpicion of having a Deſign to introduce Popery, was ſent to his Grave by a violent Death; and he was paſt Childhood when that Tragedy happen'd, and had ſuffer'd ten Years Baniſhment, among other Conſequences that attended it. He had been acquainted abroad with a Princeſs

Chriſtina *the late Queen of* Sweden.

ceſs fam'd for Parts and Learning, who reſign'd her Crown, apprehending ſhe might be diveſted of it for embracing the Romiſh Religion, by thoſe very Subjects that held her before in the greateſt Veneration, both upon her own account, and that of a Father, who had rais'd them to the higheſt Pitch of Glory that ever the *Swediſh* Nation arriv'd to. And he might have remembred what his Mother ſaid upon her return to *Somerſet-Houſe* after the Reſtoration, *That if ſhe had known the Temper of the People of* England *ſome Years paſt, as well as ſhe did then, ſhe had never been oblig'd to leave that Houſe.* But the Hiſtory of his Anceſtors might have more fully inform'd him, That thoſe that graſp'd at immoderate Power, or a Prerogative above the Law, were always Unfortunate, and their Reigns Inglorious.

There was alſo a Paſſage at his Father's Death, which he would have done well to have obſerv'd: He deliver'd his *George* to Dr. *Juxon* upon the Scaffold, and bid him remember, without ſaying more. The Council of State was willing to know the Meaning of that Expreſſion, and call'd the Doctor before them, to give them an Account of it; who told them, *That the King immediately before his coming out to the Place of Execution, had charg'd him to carry to the Prince his Son, his* George, *with theſe his two laſt Commands, That he ſhould forgive his Murderers:*

derers: And, That if he ever came to the Crown, he ſhould ſo govern his Subjects, as not to force them upon Extremities.

Over and above all this; one of the beſt Hiſtorians of the Age, who had the Advantage of all the late Elector of *Brandenburgh*'s Papers and Memoirs, acquaints us, That King *Charles* II. delivering to King *James* at his Death, the Key of his ſtrong Box, adviſ'd him *not to think upon introducing the Romiſh Religion into* England, *it being a thing that was both dangerous and impracticable.* And that the late *Don Pedro Ronquillo*, the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, at his firſt Audience after the Death of King *Charles*, having aſk'd leave to ſpeak his Mind freely upon that Occaſion, made bold to tell him, That *he ſaw ſeveral Prieſts about him, that he knew would importune him to alter the eſtabliſh'd Religion in* England; *but he wiſh'd his Majeſty would not give ear to their Advice; for if he did, he was afraid his Majeſty would have reaſon to repent of it when it was too late.* This Author tells us, That King *James* took ill the Freedom of the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador; and aſked him in Paſſion, Whether in *Spain* they adviſ'd with their Confeſſors; *Yes, Sir,* (anſwer'd *Ronquillo*) *we do, and that's the reaſon our Affairs go ſo ill.*

Puffendorf, *ut ſupra.*

The ſame Hiſtorian does likewiſe inform us (but he does not tell us upon what Grounds) That Pope *Innocent* XI. writ a Letter

Pope Innocent XIth's *Letter to King* James.

Letter to King *James* upon his Acceſſion to the Crown, to this purpoſe; *That he was highly pleas'd with his Majeſty's Zeal for the Catholick Religion; but he was afraid his Majeſty might puſh it too far, and inſtead of contributing to his own Greatneſs, and to the Advancement of the Catholick Church, he might come to do both it and himſelf the greateſt Prejudice, by attempting that which his Holineſs was well aſſur'd, from long Experience, could not ſucceed.* This Letter does very well agree with what I ſhall have occaſion to mention afterwards, concerning the Earl of *Caſtlemain*'s Embaſſy to *Rome*.

How far he profited by all theſe Advantages on the one hand, and Examples and Advices on the other, will appear in the Sequel.

The firſt Speech he made as King, the Day his Brother died, gave hopes of a happy Reign; and even thoſe that had appear'd with the greateſt Warmth againſt him before, were willing now to own themſelves to have been miſtaken, and were ready to expreſs their Repentance for what was paſt. For he told them, *That ſince it had pleas'd Almighty God to place him in that Station, and that he was now to ſucceed to ſo good and gracious a King, as well as ſo very kind a Brother, he thought fit to declare to them, That he would endeavour to follow his Example, and eſpecially in that of his great Clemency and Tenderneſs to his People; and that tho' he had been reported*

to be a Man for Arbitrary Power, yet he was reſolv'd to make it his Endeavour to preſerve the Government of England *both in Church and State as it was then eſtabliſh'd by Law. That he knew the Principles of the Church of* England *were for Monarchy; and that the Members of it had ſhew'd themſelves Good and Loyal Subjects: therefore he would always take care of it, and defend and ſupport it. That he knew that the Laws of* England *were ſufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as he could wiſh: And that as he would never depart from the juſt Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, ſo he would never invade any Man's Property*; concluding, That *as he had often hitherto ventur'd his Life in Defence of this Nation, ſo he was reſolv'd to go as far as any Man in preſerving it in all its juſt Rights and Liberties.*

If a *Trajan* or an *Antoninus* had been to lay down a Scheme of Government to make their People happy, they could not have done it in better Terms; nor could the Nation well deſire, or in reaſon wiſh for more. If his ſubſequent Actions had come up to it, he had eterniz'd his Name, and might have reviv'd in himſelf the Memory of thoſe of his Anceſtors, who have deſervedly given them, by Poſterity, the Character of Good and Great.

This promiſing Speech was not many days old, nor King *Charles*'s Aſhes well cold, when the Nation was alarm'd with a Proclamation for levying that part of the Cuſ-

toms

toms that had been granted to his Brother only for Life, and was expir'd at his Death. This was not only an open Violation of his Promiſe in his forementiou'd Speech, but of our fundamental Conſtitution, by which no Money can be levied on the Subject, but by their Conſent in Parliament. As it was contrary to Law, ſo it was altogether needleſs at that time, ſince a Parliament was to meet within a few Days, which no body doubted would in a Parliamentary way continue the ſame Cuſtoms for his Life, as they had been for his Brother's.

He was not the firſt Prince that did illegally ſeize what he had no Right to: But few Inſtances can be given of a King that did openly violate the Conſtitution of his Country, to obtain that, which he was certain would be granted him in a legal Manner, and with the Good-Will of his People.

Notwithſtanding this unuſual Stretch of Power upon his entring into the Adminiſtration, yet the Parliament he had call'd ſat down in a good Humour, and with a hearty Inclination to do every thing in compliance with him, that might tend to his Honour or Safety. His Speech to both Houſes was much of the ſame ſtrain with his former to the Council upon his Brother's Death, but more full. *He demanded the ſettling of his Revenue during Life, as it was in his Brother's time; and acquainted them with the Earl of* Argyle's

Argyle's *Landing in* Scotland; *and threaten'd to reward his Treaſon as it deſerv'd.*

This Speech buoy'd up the Minds of the People, that had been ſufficiently ſtunn'd before with the unprecedented Proclamation for levying the Cuſtoms: And ſo earneſt was the Parliament to give the King no juſt occaſion of Diſpleaſure, and ſo great a Confidence did they place in a Royal Promiſe from the Throne, that they immediately complied with him in the matter of the Revenue, thank'd him for his Speech, and reſolv'd by an unanimous Vote, *To aſſiſt him with their Lives and Fortunes againſt the Earl of* Argyle, *and all other his Enemies whatſoever.*

Some few Days after, the Bill for ſettling his Revenue, was preſented to him for his Aſſent; upon which Occaſion he made them another memorable Speech: He thank'd them for the Bill; told them of *want of Stores in the Navy and Ordnance*; *of the Anticipations that were upon ſeveral Branches of the Revenue*; *of the Debts due to his Brother's Servants and Family*, which he ſaid *were ſuch as deſerv'd Compaſſion*; *and of the extraordinary Charges he muſt be at, in ſuppreſſing the Rebellion in* Scotland: Upon all which Accounts he demanded an extraordinary Supply; and ſum'd up all, with recommending to them the Care of the Navy, which he was pleas'd to call *the Strength and Glory of the Nation.* And in the End told them, *He could not expreſs*

preſs his Concern upon that Occaſion more ſuitable to his own Thoughts of it, than by aſſuring them, He had a true Engliſh *Heart, as jealous of the Honour of the Nation, as theirs could be: And that he pleas'd himſelf with the Hopes, That by God's Bleſſing and the Parliament's Aſſiſtance, he might carry the Reputation of it higher in the World, than ever it had been in the time of any of his Anceſtors.*

Appendix, *Numb.* 12. *His Speech to the Parliament*, p. 314.

It was no wonder that a Speech of this ſtrain, ſo becoming an *Engliſh* Monarch, did meet with a kind Reception from an *Engliſh* Parliament, and be anſwer'd, as it was, with a large Supply; ſince a neighbouring Court was thereupon at a ſtand what to think of a Prince they had reckon'd upon as their own, and of whoſe real Friendſhip this unexpected Speech gave them ground to doubt. They well knew, that a true *Engliſh* Heart was diametrically oppoſite to their Deſigns; and that a King jealous of the Honour of the *Engliſh* Nation, muſt needs be an Enemy to all Encroachments of any neighbouring State, To plunge that Court yet the more into a maze of Thoughts about King *James* upon this Occaſion, the *carrying the Reputation of* England *yet higher in the World than ever it had been in the time of any of his Anceſtors*, were Words that ſeem'd to promiſe no leſs than the imitating, or rather out-doing of an *Edward* III. or a *Henry* V. that had rais'd to them-

themſelves immortal Trophies, at the Expence of their Neighbours, and wrote their own Panegyricks with their Enemies Blood.

How this Speech was reliſhed abroad, cannot be better expreſs'd, than in two Letters writ at that time by a certain great Miniſter, to an Ambaſſador here; which being communicated to me by a Noble Perſon, into whoſe Hands many of that Ambaſſador's Papers happen'd to fall upon the late Revolution, they are plac'd at length in the Appendix in *Engliſh*.

In the firſt of theſe Letters, That Miniſter diſcovers a ſort of Diffidence in King *James*, *as if he were not the Man they had taken him for*; expreſſes his Fears, that *a cordial Agreement between him and the Parliament, might unhinge all the Meaſures had been ſo long a concerting betwixt him and his Maſter, when King* James *was but Duke of* York. He recommends to the Ambaſſador, *to enquire narrowly into the Motives and the Adviſers of this Speech to the Parliament*, as the moſt conſiderable Service that could be done in that Juncture.

Appendix, *Numb.* 13. *Pag.* 316.

The other Letter chides the Ambaſſador, for *not being yet able to ſound King* James's *Intentions*; and tells him, They *had receiv'd from a ſure Hand better News than what it appears the Ambaſſador had writ.* And which is moſt remarkable in the whole Letter, there is in it a plain Inſinuation, *That there was in that*

that Court ſome great Matter under Conſideration, concerning the Edict of Nantes, *which was not to be declar'd until King* James's *Intentions were fully known.* And concludes with a Command to the Ambaſſador, *to ſift out how King* James *ſtood affected to the Prince of* Orange.

What Diſcoveries were made in Obedience to theſe Letters, can be no otherwiſe gueſs'd at but by the Event; for at this very time the unfortunate Duke of *Monmouth*, by a deſperate, ill-tim'd Attempt to overturn King *James*'s Throne, did all that in him lay to fix it the faſter.

King *Charles*, as I have ſaid, lov'd *Monmouth* tenderly; and all the Diſgraces and Hardſhips that had of late Years been put upon him, were rather the Effects of Fear and Policy, than Inclination or Choice. He was fond of him to that Degree, that tho' he was the greateſt Maſter in the Art of Diſſimulation, yet he could not refrain ſometimes in company where he might be free, from regretting his own hard Fortune; which neceſſitated him to frown upon a Son, whoſe greateſt Crime was to have incurr'd his Brother's Diſpleaſure.

His Fondneſs was yet more expreſs'd in his Behaviour to the Duke of *Monmouth*, upon the Diſcovery of that which was call'd the Proteſtant Plot, and in the manner he brought him back to Court, after the Ferment was a little abated. All the time *Monmouth* was abſconding, and when there was a Proclamation

mation out for apprehending him, King *Charles* not only knew where he was, and ſent him Meſſages every Day, but ſaw him ſeveral times in private. When the Duke's Anger was a little appeas'd by the Sacrifices that were offer'd up to it, King *Charles* thought it was then time to have his Son once again about him. In order to which, he ſo manag'd the Matter, that *Monmouth* ſhould owe the Favour to the Duke of *York*, and that his Pardon ſhould be granted merely at the Duke's Interceſſion.

The Night he appear'd firſt at Court upon his Reconciliation, King *Charles* was ſo little Maſter of himſelf, that he could not diſſemble a mighty Joy in his Countenance, and in every thing he did or ſaid: inſomuch, that it was the publick Talk about Town, and ſtrongly inſinuated to the Duke of *York*, That all the King's former Proceedings againſt the Duke of *Monmouth*, were but Grimace, and that his Royal Highneſs being made the Inſtrument of the Reconciliation, was all but a Trick put upon him. This ſo far incens'd the Duke, that he never reſted till King *Charles* was prevail'd with to demand of *Monmouth* the Publication of a Paper which he had ſign'd under Truſt, and with an Aſſurance given him that it ſhould never be made publick; which the Party about the Duke knew *Monmouth* would not conſent to, as being againſt his Honour. They were not miſtaken; for *Monmouth*

Monmouth refus'd it; and upon his Refusal was disgrac'd once again.

King *Charles*'s Kindness ended not here, but attended him to *Holland*, whither he was obliged to retire. He found secret means to furnish him with Money, and sent him Messages from time to time, and sometimes writ to him with his own Hand. He could not bear any hard thing to be said of him in his Absence; and some officious Courtiers found to their Cost, that it was not the way to make their Fortune, to aggravate *Monmouth*'s Crimes: Nor did the King take any thing more kindly, than the noble Reception *Monmouth* receiv'd from a Prince of his Blood in a foreign Country, when he was forc'd to abandon his own.

King *Charles*, tir'd out at last with the uncontroul'd Hardships that were every Day put upon him by the Duke's Creatures, and asham'd to see his own Lustre obscur'd, and his Power lessen'd by a Party that had rais'd themselves upon *Monmouth*'s Ruin, he resolv'd to shift the Scene; and in order to *make himself easy for the rest of his Life*, as he express'd it, he determin'd to send away the Duke of *York*, and recall the Duke of *Monmouth*.

April was the time agreed on to put this Resolution in practise; but there is little left us, by which we can judge whether *Monmouth* was to be recall'd to Court by a formal Invitation of the King's, or whether

ther King *Charles*'s uſual Thread of Diſſimulation was to be ſpun out to that length, that *Monmouth* was to land with an arm'd Force. The firſt ſeems more probable, if it were but for what he has writ himſelf in the Pocket-Book, which there will be occaſion to mention hereafter. It's true, the laſt looks more of a piece with the reſt of his Behaviour towards his *Brother* and *Son*, and more agreable to his natural Biaſs, which ſeldom inclin'd him to chuſe the *High Road*, when there could poſſibly be found a *By-path* to tread in.

But Death put a ſudden ſtop to all King *Charles*'s Deſigns and *Monmouth*'s Hopes; and at the ſame time warded off a Blow that threaten'd the Duke of *York* ſo near. And *Monmouth* being juſt ready to riſe higher than ever, was left by all his good Stars, which ſet with that *Royal Sun* that gave them Birth and Heat.

I would not be miſtaken here, as if I were of opinion that in this New *Turn* that was upon the Anvil, immediately before the Death of King *Charles*, there was any Deſign of altering the *Succeſſion*, or bringing *Monmouth* within the View of a *Crown*; the whole Courſe of King *Charles*'s Actions does ſufficiently contradict any ſuch thought: And though *Monmouth* was afterwards prevail'd with by a head-ſtrong Party about him, to aſſume the Title of King, yet it's next to a certainty, that all that was originally

nally aim'd at by King *Charles* and the Duke of *Monmouth*, was only to weaken the Duke of *York*'s Faction, which was then become inſupportable, by playing *Monmouth*'s Party againſt it; which was conſiſtent with the only fix'd *Maxim* of Government in that Reign, *That when any one Party grew too ſtrong, to throw in the Royal Weight into the lighteſt Scale.*

Monmouth was ſufficiently ſtunn'd with this unexpected Change in his Fortune, by the Death of King *Charles:* But his great Courage and vain Confidence in a popular Affection and Aſſiſtance, bore him up againſt all Difficulties, and prompted him on to attempt by Force of Arms, what was never deſign'd him by King *Charles.*

With three ſmall Ships, and about an hundred and fifty Men, the Duke landed in the Weſt of *England*, the Parliament ſitting. A Romantick kind of Invaſion, and ſcarce parallel'd in Hiſtory: Yet with this handful of Men, and the common People that join'd him without Arms, Proviſions, Martial Diſcipline, Money, or any one Place of Strength to retire to, in caſe of Accidents, did this brave unfortunate Man bid fair for a Crown: And if his ill Fate had not plac'd a Battalion of *Dumbarton*'s Regiment in his way, he had in all Probability ſurpriz'd the King's Army in their Camp, and perhaps at that ſingle Blow decided the Fortune of *England* for once. Yet this Attempt may be

be ſaid to have pav'd the way for a nobler Change in the Throne, by leaving King *James* at liberty through this Succeſs to act without Controul, what at length tumbled him down.

Monmouth paid the Price of his Rebellion with his Blood: And King *James* in ordering him to be brought into his Preſence under the Sentence of Death, was pleas'd to make one Exception againſt a General Rule obſerv'd inviolably among Kings, *Never to allow a Criminal under the Sentence of Death, the ſight of his Prince's Face, without a deſign to pardon him.*

There is nothing deliver'd concerning this Unfortunate Gentleman, but what I have unqueſtionable Grounds for, and which ſome Perſons yet alive, of the firſt Quality, know to be true. But of moſt of the things above mention'd, there is an infallible Proof extant under *Monmouth*'s own Hand, in a little *Pocket-Book* which was taken with him, and deliver'd to King *James*; which by an Accident, as needleſs to mention here, I had leave to copy, and did it in part. A great many dark Paſſages there are in it, and ſome clear enough, that ſhall be eternally buried for me: And perhaps it had been for King *James*'s Honour to have committed them to the flames, as *Julius Cæſar* is ſaid to have done upon a like occaſion. All the uſe that ſhall be made of it is only to give in the *Appendix*, Appendix, *Numb.* 14. *p.* 319.

ſome few Paſſages out of it, that refer to this Subject, and confirm what has been above related.

Monmouth's *Character.*

Monmouth ſeem'd to be born for a better Fate; for the firſt part of his Life was all Sunſhine, though the reſt was clouded. He was Brave, Generous, Affable, and extremely Handſome: Conſtant in his Friendſhips, juſt to his Word, and an utter Enemy to all ſort of Cruelty. He was eaſy in his Nature, and fond of Popular Applauſe, which led him inſenſibly into all his Misfortunes: But whatever might be the hidden Deſigns of ſome *working Heads* he embark'd with, his own were noble, and chiefly aim'd at the Good of his Country, though he was miſtaken in the Means to attain it. Ambitious he was, but not to the degree of aſpiring to the Crown, till after his landing in the *Weſt*; and even then, he was rather Paſſive than Active in aſſuming the Title of King. It was Importunity alone that prevail'd with him to make that Step; and he was inflexible, till it was told him, That the only way to provide againſt the Ruin of thoſe that ſhould come in to his Aſſiſtance, in caſe he fail'd in the Attempt, was to declare himſelf King; *that they might be ſhelter'd by the Statute made in the Reign of* Henry VII. *in favour of thoſe that ſhould obey a King* de Facto. Thoſe that adviſ'd him, had different Ends in it: Some to render the Breach

Breach betwixt King *James* and him irreconcilable, and thereby pave a way for a Common-wealth, in playing them againſt one another. Others to prevent a poſſibility of his being reconcil'd to King *James*, by the merit of delivering up thoſe that ſhould join him; which was a Thought unworthy of that nice Sincerity he had ſhewn in all the former Conduct of his Life.

To confirm this, I remember to have heard *Rumbold* ſay openly at his Execution in *Scotland*, upon the account of *Argyle*'s Invaſion, *That* Monmouth *had broke his Word with them, in declaring himſelf King*. And I have reaſon to know, that he was ſo far from a Deſign upon the Crown before he left *Holland*, that it was not without great difficulty he was perſuaded to come over at all: And that upon King *Charles*'s Death he expreſs'd a firm Reſolution to make no ſuch Attempt, but to live a retir'd Life, without giving King *James* any diſturbance.

In his latter Years he us'd to complain of the little care had been taken of his Education; and in his Diſgrace endeavour'd to make up that Want, by applying himſelf to Study, in which he made in a ſhort time no inconſiderable Progreſs. He took the occaſion of his Afflictions to inform his Mind, and recollect and amend the Errors of Youth; which it was not ſtrange he ſhould

be tainted with, being bred up in all the Pleaſures of a Luxurious Court. What ſedate Thoughts his Retirement brought him to, and, which is in a great part hitherto a Secret, how little Inclination he had to *make a buſtle in the World* (to give it in his own Words) is beſt expreſs'd in a Letter of his own to one that afterwards loſt his Life in his Quarrel: which though without a Date, appears to be writ after King *Charles*'s Death, and is plac'd in the *Appendix*; which was deliver'd me by a Gentleman yet alive, that was intruſted with the Key of that and other Letters that were writ at that time: Which rather than diſcover, he choſe to ſubmit himſelf to be thrice cruelly tortur'd; all which he bore with a Courage worthy of the antient *Romans*.

Appendix, *Numb.* 15. *p.* 323. *Mr.* Spence *Secretary to the late Earl of* Argyle.

The Duke of *Monmouth*, when he was brought Priſoner into King *James*'s Preſence, made the humbleſt Submiſſions for his Life; and it's a Myſtery what could move King *James* to ſee him, when he had no mind to pardon him: But the manner of his Death three days after, did more than acquit him of any meanneſs of Spirit in deſiring to live, ſince he died with the greateſt Conſtancy and Tranquillity of Mind, and ſuch as became a *Chriſtian*, a *Philoſopher*, and a *Soldier*.

The *Storm* being thus blown over that threaten'd his Crown, King *James* thought it

it time to caſt off the Mask, and to act without diſguiſe what till then he had in ſome part endeavour'd to diſſemble. This Parliament had expreſs'd a more than ordinary Zeal in *Attainting Monmouth*, and had readily granted him a competent Supply to ſuppreſs that Rebellion. Not only ſo, but to teſtify the Confidence they had in his Promiſes mention'd in the former Speeches, the Houſe of Commons paſs'd a Vote, *Nemine Contradicente*, That *they did acquieſce, and entirely rely and reſt wholly ſatisfied on his Majeſty's Gracious Word, and repeated Declarations to ſupport and defend the Religion of the Church of* England *as it is now by Law eſtabliſh'd, which was dearer to them than their Lives.* So that they had reaſon to expect ſome ſuitable Returns to all this Kindneſs and Confidence on their ſides. But they were miſtaken; for King *James* began to talk to them in a quite other ſtrain than he had done before: And in another Speech from the Throne, gave them to underſtand by a plain Inſinuation, That he was now Maſter, and that for the future they muſt expect to be govern'd, not by the known Laws of the Land, but by his own ſole Will and Pleaſure.

No part of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution was in it ſelf more ſacred, or better ſecur'd by Law, than that by which *Roman Catholicks were declar'd incapable of Places of Truſt, either Civil or Military, in the Government:* And he himſelf, when Duke of *York*, was forc'd by the

Teſt-Act to lay down his Office of Lord High-Admiral, even at a time when he had not publickly own'd his Reconciliation to the Church of *Rome*. But he did what lay in his power to break down this Barrier, upon *Monmouth*'s Defeat: And in a Speech to his Parliament told them, *That after the Storm that ſeem'd to be coming when he parted with them laſt, he was glad to meet them again in ſo great Peace and Quietneſs. But when he reflected what an inconſiderable number of Men began the late Rebellion, and how long they carried it on without any Oppoſition; he hop'd every body was convinc'd that the Militia was not ſufficient for ſuch Occaſions; and that nothing but a good Force of diſciplin'd Troops was ſufficient to defend us from Inſults at home and abroad: And therefore he had increas'd the Number of Standing Forces to what they were:* And demanded a Supply *to ſupport the Charge of them, which he did not doubt they would comply with.* Then, as the main End of his Speech, and to let them know what he was poſitively reſolv'd to do; he adds, *Let no Man take exception that there are ſome Officers in the Army not qualified according to the late Teſt for that Employment: The Gentlemen, I muſt tell you, are moſt of them well known to me; and having formerly ſerv'd me on ſeveral Occaſions, and always approv'd the Loyalty of their*

K. James's *Speech to the Parliament after* Monmouth's *Defeat.* Appendix, *Numb.* 16. *p.* 325.

their Principles by their Practices, I think them now fit to be employ'd under me; and will deal plainly with you, That after having had the benefit of their Services in such time of need and danger, I will neither expose them to Disgrace, nor my self to the Want of them, if there should be another Rebellion to make them necessary to me. And at last he tells them, *That he was afraid some may hope that a Difference might happen betwixt him and his Parliament on that Occasion; which he cannot apprehend can befall him, or that any thing can shake them in their Loyalty to him, who will ever make all returns of Kindness and Protection, and venture his Life in the Defence of the true Interest of the Nation.*

It was no wonder, That this Speech surpriz'd a People who valued themselves so much upon their Liberties, and thought themselves secure of them, both from the Constitution of their Government, and the solemn repeated Promises of their Prince. They found too late, that their Fears in the former Reign, of a Popish Successor, were too well grounded, and how inconsistent a Roman Catholick King is with a Protestant Kingdom.

The Parliament's Address to K. James upon that Speech.

The Parliament did in humble manner represent the inconvenience that might attend such Measures, at least to render him inexcusable for what might ensue. And that they might not be wanting to themselves and their Posterity, they voted an Address, wherein they told him, "That

" they had with all Duty and Readineſs " taken into Conſideration his Majeſty's " Gracious Speech. And as to that part of " it relating to the Officers of the Army not " qualified for their Employment according " to the Act of Parliament, they did out of " their bounden Duty humbly repreſent to " his Majeſty, that theſe Officers could not " by Law be capable of their Employments; " and that the Incapacities they bring upon " themſelves that way, could no ways be " taken off, but by an Act of Parliament: " Therefore out of that great Reverence " and Duty they ow'd to his Majeſty, they " were preparing a Bill to indemnify them " from the Inconveniences they had now " incurr'd. And becauſe the continuing " them in their Employments may be taken " to be a diſpenſing with Law without an " Act of Parliament, the Conſequence of " which was of the greateſt concern to the " Rights of all his Subjects, and to all the " Laws made for the Security of their Re- " ligion; therefore they moſt humbly be- " ſeech his Majeſty, that he would be gra- " ciouſly pleas'd to give ſuch Directions " therein, that no Apprehenſions of Jea- " louſies might remain in the Hearts of his " Subjects.

Over and above what was contain'd in this Addreſs, the Houſe of Commons were willing to capacitate by an Act of Parliament, ſuch a number of the Roman Catho-

lick Officers, as King *James* ſhould give a Liſt of. But both this Offer and the Addreſs were highly reſented; and notwithſtanding that they were preparing a Bill for a conſiderable Supply to anſwer his extraordinary Occaſions, and had ſent to the *Tower* one of their Members for ſpeaking indecently of his Speech, King *James* was influenc'd to part with this his firſt and only Parliament in Diſpleaſure, upon the fourth Day after they preſented the Addreſs.

As his former Speeches to his Council and Parliament had put a foreign Court to a ſtand what to think of him; ſo this laſt put them out of pain, and convinc'd them he was entirely theirs. Their Senſe of it can hardly be better expreſs'd than in a Letter from abroad, contain'd in the *Appendix*; which by its Stile, though in another Hand, ſeems to be from the ſame Miniſter that writ the two former: In which he tells the Ambaſſador here, *That he needed not a ſurer Character of King* James *and his Intentions, than this laſt Speech to the Parliament, by which they were convinc'd of his former Reſolution to throw off the Fetters which Hereticks would impoſe upon him, and to act for the time to come* en Maiſtre, *as Maſter:* A word till then altogether foreign to the *Engliſh Conſtitution.*

Appendix, *Numb.* 17. *p.* 328.

What other Effects this Speech had upon the Minds of the People at home and

abroad, may be eaſily gueſs'd from the different Intereſts they had in it: Nor is it to be paſs'd over without ſome Remark, That the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantes*, which probably had been ſome time under Conſideration before, was now put in execution, to the Aſtoniſhment of all *Europe*.

The Parliament being diſſolv'd, and no viſible means left to retrieve the Liberties of *England*, King *James* made haſte to accompliſh the Grand Deſign, which a head-ſtrong Party about him puſh'd on as the certain way in their opinion to eternize his Name in this World, and to merit an Eternal Crown in the other. They foreſaw that this was the Critical Juncture, and the only one that happen'd ſince the Days of Queen *Mary*, to reſtore their Religion in *England*. And if they were wanting to themſelves in making uſe of it, the proſpect of a Proteſtant Succeſſor would infallibly prevent their having any ſuch opportunity for the future. King *James* was pretty far advanc'd in years, and what was to be done, requir'd Expedition; for all their Labour would be loſt, if he ſhould die before the Accompliſhment. If he had been younger, or the next Preſumptive Heir had not been a Proteſtant, there had been no ſuch abſolute Neceſſity for Diſpatch: But the Uncertainty of the King's Life call'd for more than ordinary Diligence in a Deſign that depended merely upon it.

The

The Party being reſolv'd, for theſe Reaſons, to bring about in the Compaſs of one ſingle Life, and that already far ſpent, what ſeem'd to be the Work of a whole Age, they made large Steps towards it. Roman Catholicks were not only employ'd in the Army, but brought into Places of greateſt Truſt in the State. The Earl of *Clarendon* was forthwith remov'd from the Office of Privy-Seal, and the Government of *Ireland*; to make room for the Earl of *Tyrconnel* in the one, and the Lord *Arundel* in the other. Father *Peters*, a Jeſuit, was ſworn of the Privy-Council: And tho' by the Laws it was high Treaſon for any to aſſume the Character of the Pope's Nuncio, yet theſe were become too ſlender Cobwebs to hinder a Roman Prelate to appear publickly at *London* in that Quality; and one of the greateſt Peers of *England* was diſgrac'd for not paying him that Reſpect which the Laws of the Land made criminal.

A Pope's Nuncio in England.

Duke of Somerſet.

To bear the publick Character of Ambaſſador to the Pope, was likewiſe an open Violation of the Laws: But ſo fond was the governing Party about King *James*, to ſhew their new-acquir'd Trophies at *Rome*, that the Earl of *Caſtlemain* was diſpatch'd thither extraordinary Ambaſſador, with a magnificent Train, and a moſt ſumptuous Equi-

An Ambaſſador ſent to Rome.

Equipage. What his ſecret Inſtructions were, may be partly gueſs'd by his publick ones; which were, To *reconcile the Kingdoms of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *to the Holy See; from which they had for more than an Age fallen off by Hereſy.*

And ſlighted by the Pope.

Innocent XI. receiv'd this Embaſſy as one that ſaw farther than thoſe who ſent it. The Ambaſſador had but a cold Reception of the Holy Father, and none of the Cardinals, but thoſe of a particular Faction, and the good-natur'd Cardinal of *Norfolk*, took any farther notice of it, than Good Manners obliged them. The Court of *Rome* were too refin'd Politicians, to be impos'd upon with Shew and Noiſe, and knew the World too well, to expect great Matters from ſuch haſty ill-tim'd Advances as were made to them. Not only ſo, but *Innocent* having an Averſion in his Nature to a Faction he knew King *James* was embark'd in, which he never took pains to diſſemble, was not over fond of an Embaſſy from a Prince who was in an Intereſt he had long wiſh'd to ſee humbled. King *James* met with nothing but Mortification at *Rome* in the Perſon of his Ambaſſador, which occaſion'd his making as ſhort a Stay as was poſſible. In which may be ſeen the vaſt Difference there was at that time betwixt the Politicks of *Italy*, and thoſe of a head-ſtrong Party in *England*. And however the World has been impos'd

impos'd upon to believe, that the Pope's Nuncio at the *Engliſh* Court, who is ſince made a Cardinal, was an Inſtrument to puſh on Things to Extremities; yet certain it is, he had too much good Senſe to approve of all the Meaſures that were taken; and therefore deſir'd often to be recall'd, leſt he ſhould be thought to have a hand in them.

Cardinal Dada.

Although the Earl of *Caſtlemain* was pleas'd, upon his Examination before the Parliament, to ſay, *That his Embaſſy to* Rome *was only ſuch as was between two temporal Princes, about Compliment and Commerce*; yet Father *Warner*, in his *Manuſcript Hiſtory*, quoted by a learned Author, gives us another Account of it in theſe Words: *Things being thus ſettled* (ſays he) *within the Realm, the next Care his Majeſty had, was, to unite his Countries to the Obedience of the Biſhop of* Rome, *and Apoſtolick See, which had been cut off by Hereſy about an Age and a half before. To try the Pope's Inclination, in the Year* 1685, *he ſent Mr.* Carryl *thither; who ſucceeding according to his Wiſhes, and being recall'd, the Earl of* Caſtlemain *was ſent the next Year, as Extraordinary Ambaſſador to the Pope, in the Name of the King and the Catholicks of* England, *to make their Submiſſion to the Holy See.*

Dr. Gee's *Animadverſions on the Jeſuits Memorial for the intended Reformation of* England, *under the firſt Popiſh Prince:* London 1690.

Caſtle-

Caſtlemain had ſeveral Audiences of the Pope, but to little Purpoſe; for whenever he began to talk of Buſineſs, the Pope was ſeaſonably attack'd with a Fit of Coughing, which broke off the Ambaſſador's Diſcourſe for that time, and oblig'd him to retire. Theſe Audiences and fits of Coughing continued from time to time, while *Caſtlemain* continued at *Rome*, and were the Subject of Diverſion to all but a particular Faction at that Court. At length he was advis'd to come to Threats, and to give out that he would be gone, ſince he could not have an Opportunity to treat with the Pope about the Buſineſs he came for. *Innocent* was ſo little concern'd for the Ambaſſador's Reſentment, that when they told him of it, he anſwer'd with his ordinary Coldneſs, *E bene, ſe voul anderſene ditegli adonque che ſi levi di buon matino al freſco e che a mezzo giorno ſi repoſi, per che in queſti paeſi non biſogna viaggiare al caldo del giorno. Well! let him go, and tell him, It were fit he riſe early in the Morning, that he may reſt himſelf at Noon; for in this Country it's dangerous to travel in the heat of the Day.*

In the end he was recall'd, being able to obtain of the Pope two trifling Requeſts only, that could hardly be deny'd to an ordinary Courier. The one was, a *Licence for the Mareſchal* d'Humier's *Daughter to marry her Uncle:* And the other, *a Diſpenſation of the Statutes of the Jeſuits Order, to Father*

Mercure Hiſtorique pour *June*, 1687.

Father Peters, *to enjoy a Biſhoprick. The want of which*, ſays my Author, *was the Reaſon that the Archbiſhoprick of* York *was kept ſo long vacant.*

The Jeſuits noble Entertainment of the Engliſh *Ambaſſador at* Rome.

Tho' the Pope carry'd himſelf in this manner towards the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, yet the Jeſuits paid him the higheſt Reſpect imaginable: which did him no Service with the old Man; for he and that Order were never hearty Friends. They entertain'd him in their Seminary with the greateſt Magnificence; and nothing was wanting in Nature or Art to grace his Reception. All their Stores of Sculpture, Painting, Poetry and Rhetorick, ſeem to have been exhauſted upon this Entertainment. And tho' all the Inſcriptions and Emblems did center upon the Triumph of the Romiſh Religion, and the Ruin of Hereſy in *England*, yet Care was taken not to omit ſuch particular Trophies and Devices, as were adapted to their new-acquir'd Liberty of *ſetting up their publick Schools at* London. Among a great many other Panegyricks upon King *James*, the following Diſtich was plac'd below an Emblem of *England:*

Reſtituit veterem tibi Religionis Honorem,
Anglia, Magnanimi Regis aperta fides.

The open Zeal of this magnanimous King, has reſtor'd to England *its antient Religion.*

There

There was alſo this *Inſcription* put round King *James*'s Picture:

Potentiſſimo & Religioſiſſimo
Magnæ Britanniæ
REGI
JACOBO II.
Generoſa
Catholicæ Fidei Confeſſione
Regnum Auſpicanti;
ET
INNOCENTIO XI. *P. M.*
Per Legatum,
Nobiliſſimum & Sapientiſſimum
D. Rogerium Palmerium
Comitem de Caſtlemain
Obſequium deferenti,
Collegium Romanum
Regia Virtutum Inſignia dedicat.

To the moſt Potent and moſt Religious JAMES II. *King of* Great Britain, *beginning his Reign with the generous Confeſſion of the Catholick Faith,*

AND

Paying his Obedience to Pope
INNOCENT XI.
By the moſt Noble and moſt Wiſe
Roger Palmer, *Earl of* Caſtlemain,
The Roman *College*
Dedicates
Theſe Royal Emblems of his Virtues.

In

In the great Hall the Ambaſſador was harangu'd by the Rector of the College in a *Latin* Speech; which, to ſhew the vain Hopes they had of King *James* and their own Fortune at that time, is plac'd in the *Appendix*, with a Tranſlation of it into *Engliſh*; referring the Reader for the reſt of that Solemnity, to an ingenious Gentleman that was then upon the Place, and has given a particular Account of it.

Appendix, *Numb.* 18. p. 383. Nouveau Voyage de Italie, *Edit.* 3. *Tom.* 2. Par Monſieur Miſſon.

But yet it may not be amiſs to mention what the ſame Gentleman tells us, of a Device that related to King *James*'s having a Son; which was, *A Lily, from whoſe Leaves there diſtill'd ſome Drops of Water*; which, as the Naturaliſts ſay, becomes the Seed of new Lilies; and the Motto was, *Lachrymor in Prolem*; *I weep for Children.* Underneath was this Diſtich.

Pro Natis Jacobe, *gemis, Flos candide Regum?*
Hos Natura tibi ſi negat, Aſtra dabunt.

Do'ſt thou ſigh for Children, O James! *thou beſt of Kings! If Nature denies, Heaven will grant them.*

There was one Inſcription more this Author takes notice of, which being one of the

the moſt unaccountable Things of that kind, afforded Matter for the Wits of *Rome* to deſcant upon. Tho' the Words are ill choſe, and ſtrangely harſh, yet it's certain the Fathers had a good Meaning in them, and they refer to King *James*'s Influence upon his Brother to turn Roman Catholick at his Death. The Inſcription runs thus.

Jacobo *Secundo* Angliæ *Regi*,
Quod ipſo Vitæ Exemplo præunte,
Et impellente Conſiliis,
Carolus *Frater & Rex*
Mortem obierat admodum piam:
Regnaturus à tergo frater
Alas Carolo *addidit*;
E T
Ut Cœlo dignum
E T
Dignum ſe Rege Legatum, eligeret,
Fratrem Miſit.

To King James II. *King of* England, *for having by his Example, and his Counſel, prevail'd with* Charles *his Brother to die a pious Death:*
and being to ſucceed him,
He gave Wings to Charles; *and that he might make choice of an Ambaſſador worthy of Heaven and himſelf, he ſent his Brother.*

I will not pretend to give the nice Senſe of theſe Words: and tho' I would, I cannot,

not, there being ſuch a Perplexity in them. But for the Expreſſions that follow, I may venture to give them in *Engliſh*, tho' they ſeem to be as much out of the ordinary Road as the former.

Nuncii ex Anglia *Proceres*
Retulerunt Regibus aliis Jacobum *Regnantem*,
Cælo.
Primus omnium retulit Carolus.
Nec Immerito;
Reges alii Legatos ſuſcipiunt
Mittuntque Principes,
Legatos Reges Deum excipere decuit;
Jacobum *mittere.*

Engliſh *Noblemen were ſent to other Kings, to acquaint them with King* James's *Acceſſion to the Crown*; *but* Charles *firſt of all brought the News of it to Heaven.*

It was but reaſonable
For Kings to ſend and receive Princes as Ambaſſadors;
But
It became God Almighty to receive, and James *to ſend no Ambaſſadors but Kings.*

The Mortifications K. James *met with at* Rome *about his Marriage with the Princeſs of* Eſte.

To ſee King *James* neglected at *Rome* in the Pontificate of *Innocent* XI. was not ſo ſtrange, conſidering what has been ſaid of his Antipathy to a Faction wherein that Prince was concern'd:

cern'd: But that in the Time of *Innocent*'s Predeceſſor, and when he was Duke of *York*, he ſhould be deny'd a common Favour, which that Court ſeldom or never refuſes to any one, was a Thing altogether unaccountable; yet ſo it was, that he having ſent the late Earl of *Peterborough* to *Italy*, to eſpouſe the Princeſs of *Modena* in his Name, all the Intereſt he could make, was not able to obtain a Diſpenſation for the Marriage. The Account of this Matter being ſo little known, and that Earl's Book wherein he mentions it, being ſo rare, and, as I am told, but twenty four Copies printed; I ſhall give it in the Earl's own Words:

Genealogies of the Family of Mordant, &c. *in a large* Fol. p. 427, 428.

" But now from *Rome* there was Advice " (ſays he) by the Abbot of *Angeo*, of the " great Difficulties that aroſe in the Con- " ſultations of this Affair, (meaning the " Marriage.) The *French* Ambaſſador, the " Duke *d'Eſtrees*, favour'd the Marriage " with all the Power of the *French* Faction; " ſo did Cardinal *Barberini*, and all the " other Friends and Allies of the Houſe of " *Eſte*. But his Holineſs himſelf was very " averſe, and Cardinal *Altieri*, who was " the governing Nephew, a profeſs'd and " violent Oppoſer. The main pretence for " this Obſtinacy, was, the Duke of *York*'s " not declaring himſelf publickly of the " Romiſh Church; tho' they knew that " he

" he was of a long time reconcil'd to " it.

" But now at laſt (continues the Earl of " *Peterborough*) came from *Rome* the Abbot " of *Angeo*, without the Diſpenſation, which " he could by no means obtain, by reaſon " that Cardinal *Altieri* was inflexible, and " Threats of Excommunication were iſſu'd " out againſt any that ſhould undertake to " perform or celebrate the Marriage: where- " upon we were all upon the Fears and Ex- " pectations of a total Rupture. The Dutch- " eſs of *Modena* her ſelf, a zealous, if not a " bigotted Woman, was in great pain about " the Part that might ſeem offenſive to his " Holineſs, or neglective of his Authority; " and the young Princeſs took occaſion from " hence to ſupport her Unwillingneſs. But " in truth, Cardinal *Barberini* upon whom " the Dutcheſs had great dependence, and " all the other Adherents and Relations of " the Houſe of *Eſte*, being every day more " and more poſſeſs'd of the Honour and In- " tereſt they were like to find in this Alli- " ance, were ſcandaliz'd at the unreaſona- " ble Obſtinacy of the Pope and his Ne- " phew, and did frankly adviſe the Dutcheſs " of *Modena* ſuddenly to make up and per- " fect the Marriage; the Peace and Excuſe " of the Thing being eaſier to be had after " it was done, than any preſent Licence to " be obtain'd for doing it.

" The

" The Biſhop of *Modena* was then ap-
" ply'd to (adds the Earl) for the Perfor-
" mance; but he refuſing, a poor *Engliſh*
" Jacobite was found, Brother to *Jerome*
" *White*, that after ſerv'd the Dutcheſs,
" who having nothing to loſe, and on
" whom the Terror of Excommunication
" did not ſo much prevail, did undertake
" it, and ſo he perform'd the Ceremony."
Thus far the Earl of *Peterborough*.

The true Deſign of the Perſecution of Diſſenters in King Charles's *time.*

But to leave this Digreſſion, and to return to our Hiſtory. It was about this time that the Romiſh Cabal about King *James* began to play their popular Engine, and which was likely to do moſt Execution, by weakening the national eſtabliſh'd Church, and dividing Proteſtants among themſelves, when in the mean time the Roman Catholicks were to be the only Gainers. This was diſguis'd under the ſpecious Names of Liberty of Conſcience. And the very ſame Party that advis'd this Toleration, were they that had puſh'd on all the Severities againſt the Proteſtant Diſſenters in the former Reign, with deſign to widen the Breach between them and the Church of *England*, and to render the firſt more willing to ſwallow the Bait of Toleration, whenever it ſhould be offer'd to them. They gain'd in a great part their End; for the Diſſenters were not ſo fond of Perſecution and ill Uſage, as to re-

fuſe

fuſe a Liberty that was frankly offer'd them, which neither their Prayers nor Fears could obtain before. Nor did they think it Good-Manners to enquire too narrowly how that Liberty came about, as long as they were ſhelter'd thereby from the Oppreſſions they lay under.

The Church of *England* ſaw thro' all this Contrivance, and feared the Conſequences. The Proteſtant Diſſenters were more pitied now in their ſeeming Proſperity, than ever they had been in their real Adverſity. Some that had been zealous before in putting the Penal Laws in execution againſt them, did now ſee their Error too late, and found they had been us'd but as Tools to prevent the Diſſenters from uniting with the Church of *England* whenever the common Danger ſhould come to threaten both.

King James *grants a Toleration of Religion.*

This Toleration could not ſubſiſt, being contrary to the eſtabliſh'd Laws of the Realm, unleſs a new Monſter was introduc'd to give it Life, under the Name of a *Diſpenſing Power*. When King *James* came to aſſume to himſelf this *Power* as his Prerogative and Right, he unhing'd the *Conſtitution* all at once; for to diſpenſe with Laws already made, is as much a part of the *Legiſlature*, as the making of new ones. And therefore in arrogating to himſelf ſuch a diſpenſing Power, he invaded the very Eſſence of the *Engliſh*

Conſtitution, by which the *Legiſlature is lodg'd in King, Lords and Commons; and every one of them has a Negative upon the other two.*

Charles II. was the firſt King of *England* that ever aim'd at any thing like a Diſpenſing Power. In the Year 1662, he was prevail'd upon, for ſome Reaſons of State, to iſſue out a Proclamation, diſpenſing with ſome few things that related to the *Act of Uniformity*; but without the leaſt regard to Roman Catholicks. And tho' in his Speech to the Parliament upon that occaſion, he did in a manner acknowledge that he had no ſuch Power, in ſaying, *That if the Diſſenters would demean themſelves peaceably and modeſtly, he could heartily wiſh he had ſuch a Power of Indulgence to uſe upon occaſion*; yet the Parliament was ſo jealous of this Innovation, that they preſented the King with an Addreſs againſt the Proclamation, and plainly told him, *That he had no Power to diſpenſe with the Laws without an Act of Parliament.*

King *Charles* made another Attempt of the like nature, in the Year 1672; and in a Speech to both Houſes, did mention his Declaration of Indulgence, and acquainted them with the Reaſons that induc'd him to it; telling them withal, how little the Roman Catholicks would be the better for it. Upon which, the Houſe of Commons made an Addreſs to him for recalling this Declaration; wherein they plainly told him, *That*

in claiming a Power to diſpenſe with penal Laws, his Majeſty had been very much miſinform'd, ſince no ſuch Power was ever claim'd or exercis'd by any of his Predeceſſors; and if it ſhould be admitted, might tend to the interrupting of the free Courſe of the Laws, and altering the Legiſlative Power, which has always been acknowledg'd to reſide in his Majeſty, and his two Houſes of Parliament. King *Charles* was ſo far ſatisfy'd in the Matter contain'd in this Addreſs, that he immediately thereupon cancell'd his Declaration of Indulgence, and order'd the Seal to be torn off; and acquainted both Houſes, that he had done ſo, with this further Declaration, which was enter'd upon Record in the Houſe of Lords, *That it ſhould never be drawn into Example or Conſequence.*

The next that attempted ſuch a diſpenſing Power, though of a far larger Extent, was King *James*, as has been ſaid: And how any thing that look'd that way was reliſh'd by the Houſe of Commons, does appear by their Addreſs againſt the Roman Catholick Officers; which alſo has been mention'd.

And aſſumes a Diſpenſing Power.

It was not enough for King *James* to aſſume this Diſpenſing Power, and to act by it; but ſuch was the Miſery and hard Fate of *England*, that the Party about the King would have had us believe, *That a Power in the King to diſpenſe with Laws, was Law.*

To maintain this monſtrous Poſition, there were not only mercenary Pens ſet a-work, but a Set of Judges found out, that, to their eternal Reproach, did all that was poſſible for them to compliment the King with the Liberties of their Country. For theſe Gentlemen gave it for Law,

That the Kings of England *are Sovereign Princes.*

That the Laws of England *are the King's Laws.*

That therefore it's an incident inſeparable Prerogative in the Kings of England, *as in all other Sovereign Princes, to diſpenſe with penal Laws in particular Caſes, and upon particular neceſſary Reaſons.*

That of thoſe Reaſons, and thoſe Neceſſities, the King himſelf is the ſole Judge. And then, which is conſequent upon all,

That this is not a Truſt inveſted in, or granted to the King by the People, but is the antient Remain of the Sovereign Power and Prerogative of the Kings of England, *which never yet was taken from them, nor can be.*

Thus were we fallen under the greateſt Misfortune that could poſſibly happen to a Nation, to have our Laws and Conſtitutions trampled upon, under colour of Law: And thoſe very Men, whoſe Office it was to ſupport them, became now the Betrayers of them to the Will of the Prince.

This mighty Point being gain'd, or rather forc'd upon us, the Roman Catholicks were not wanting to make the beſt uſe of it

for themſelves. The free and open Exerciſe of their Religion was ſet up every where, and Jeſuit Schools and Seminaries erected in the moſt conſiderable Towns. The Church of *England* had now but a precarious Title to the National Church, and Romiſh Candidates had ſwallow'd up its Preferments and Dignities already in their Hopes. Romiſh Biſhops were publickly conſecrated in the Royal Chappel, and diſpatched down to exerciſe their Epiſcopal Function in their reſpective Dioceſes. Their Paſtoral Letters, directed to the Lay Catholicks of *England*, were openly diſpers'd up and down, and printed by the King's own Printer, with publick Licence. The Regular Clergy appear'd in their Habits in *Whitehall* and *St. James's*, and made no ſcruple to tell the Proteſtants, *They hoped in a little time to walk in Proceſſion through* Cheapſide.

A mighty Harveſt of new Converts was expected; and that Labourers might not be wanting, Shoals of Prieſts and Regulars were ſent over from beyond Sea to reap it. The only ſtep to Preferment, was, to be of the King's Religion; and to preach againſt the Errors of *Rome*, was the height of Diſloyalty, becauſe, forſooth, it tended to alienate the Subjects Affections from the King. An Order was directed to the Proteſtant Biſhops about *Preaching*, which was, upon the matter, forbidding them to defend their Religion in the Pulpit, when it was at the ſame

time attack'd by the Romiſh Prieſts, with all the vigour they were capable of, both in their Sermons and Books. This Order was taken from a Precedent in Queen *Mary*'s time; for the firſt ſtep ſhe made to introduce Popery, notwithſtanding her Promiſes to the Gentlemen of *Suffolk* and *Norfolk* to the contrary, upon their appearing firſt of any for her Intereſt, upon the Death of her Brother, was, to iſſue out a Proclamation, forbidding the preaching upon controverted Points of Religion; for fear, it was ſaid, of raiſing Animoſities among the People. But, notwithſtanding this inſnaring Letter of King *James*'s, the Clergy of the Church of *England* were not wanting in their Duty: For, to their immortal Honour, they did more to vindicate the Doctrine of their own Church, and expoſe the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, both in their Sermons and Writings, than ever had been done either at home or abroad, ſince the Reformation; and in ſuch a Stile, and with ſuch an inimitable Force of Reaſoning, as will be a Standard of Writing to ſucceeding Ages.

To haſten on the Project againſt the *eſtabliſh'd Church*, a new Court of *Inquiſition* was erected, under the Name of a *Commiſſion for Eccleſiaſtical Affairs*: And to blind the People, there were ſome Biſhops of the Church of *England* nam'd *Commiſſioners*, whereof one refus'd to act from the beginning, and the other excus'd himſelf, after he came to ſee where

where the Deſign of it was levell'd. This Commiſſion was another manifeſt Violation of the Laws, and againſt an expreſs Act of Parliament: And as if that had not been enough to mortify the Church of *England*, there were ſome Roman Catholicks appointed Commiſſioners; and conſequently the Enemies of the Proteſtant Religion, were become the Judges and Directors of a Proteſtant Church in its Doctrine and Diſcipline.

The Suſpenſion of the Biſhop of London.

Theſe Commiſſioners thought fit to begin the Exerciſe of their new Power, with the Suſpenſion of Dr. *Compton*, Biſhop of *London*. This noble Prelate, by a Conduct worthy of his Birth and Station in the Church, had acquir'd the Love and Eſteem of all the Proteſtant Churches at home and abroad, and was for that reaſon the Mark of the Envy and Hatred of the Romiſh Party at Court. They had waited for an occaſion to ennoble their Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion with ſuch an illuſtrious Sacrifice; and ſuch an occaſion was rather taken than given, in the Buſineſs of Dr. *Sharp*, now Archbiſhop of *York*.

The Occaſion of it.

The Prieſts about the King, knowing how much it was their Intereſt that the Proteſtant Clergy ſhould not have leave to refute the Errors of the Church of *Rome* in their Sermons, had adviſ'd him to ſend to the Biſhops the enſnaring Letter or Order

before-mention'd, containing *Directions about Preachers*. The learned Dr. *Sharp*, taking occaſion in ſome of his Sermons, to vindicate the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, in Oppoſition to Popery, this was in the *Court-Dialect*, underſtood to be the *endeavouring to beget in the Minds of his Hearers, an ill Opinion of the King and his Government, by inſinuating Fears and Jealouſies, to diſpoſe them to Diſcontent, and lead them into Diſobedience and Rebellion*; and conſequently a Contempt of the ſaid Order about Preachers. Whereupon King *James* ſent a Letter to the Biſhop of *London*, containing an Order to ſuſpend Dr. *Sharp* from preaching in any Pariſh-Church or Chappel in his Dioceſe, until the Doctor had given Satisfaction, and his Majeſty's farther Pleaſure ſhould be known.

The Biſhop of *London*, perceiving what was aim'd at in this Letter, endeavour'd all that was poſſible to divert the Storm that threaten'd him, and the Church of *England* thro' his Sides. He writ a ſubmiſſive Letter to the *Secretary of State*, to be communicated to the King; ſetting forth, *That he thought it his Duty to obey his Majeſty in whatever Commands he laid upon him, that he could perform with a ſafe Conſcience; but in this he was obliged to proceed according to Law, and as a Judge: And by the Law, no Judge condemns a Man before he has Knowledge of the Cauſe, and has cited the Party. That however, he had acquainted Dr.* Sharp *with his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure,*

ſure, whom he found ſo ready to give all reaſonable Satisfaction, that he had made him the Bearer of that Letter.

Together with the Letter from the Biſhop of *London*, Dr. *Sharp* carried with him a Petition to the King in his own Name, ſhewing, *That ever ſince his Majeſty was pleas'd to give notice of his Diſpleaſure againſt him, he had forborn the publick Exerciſe of his Function: And as he had endeavour'd to do the beſt Service he could to his Majeſty and his late Brother in his Station, ſo he had not vented now in the Pulpit any thing tending to Faction or Schiſm. And therefore pray'd his Majeſty would be pleas'd to lay aſide his Diſpleaſure conceiv'd againſt him, and reſtore him to the Favour which the reſt of the Clergy enjoyed.*

All this Submiſſion was to no Purpoſe. Nothing would ſatisfy the Party, but a Revenge upon the Biſhop of *London*, for his exemplary Zeal for the Proteſtant Intereſt; and this Affair of Dr. *Sharp*'s was made uſe of as a handle to mortify him, and in his Perſon the whole Body of the Clergy. The Biſhop was cited before the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion*, for not ſuſpending Dr. *Sharp*, according to the King's Order, and treated by their Chairman, at his Appearance, in a manner unworthy of his Station and Quality. All the Defence he could make, and his *Plea* to the Juriſdiction and Legality of the Court, which was good beyond all Contradiction, did ſignify nothing. Theſe new *Inquiſitors*

being reſolv'd to ſtick at nothing that might pleaſe the *Party* that ſet them at work, did, by their definitive *Sentence*, *declare*, *decree*, *and pronounce*, *That the Biſhop of* London *ſhould*, *for his Diſobedience and Contempt*, *be ſuſpended during his Majeſty's Pleaſure: and accordingly was ſuſpended*, *with a peremptory admonition*, *To abſtain from the Function and Execution of his Epiſcopal Office*, *and other Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction*, *during the ſaid Suſpenſion*, *under the pain of Deprivation and Removal from his Biſhoprick.*

The Proceedings againſt the Preſident and Fellows of Magdalen *College.*

The next that felt the Weight of this *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion* were the Preſident and Fellows of St. *Mary Magdalen*'s College in *Oxford*, the two chief Seats of Learning, the Univerſities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, ſtood in the way of the grand Deſign; and the Party was impatient to get footing there. *Magdalen* College is one of the nobleſt Foundations that perhaps was ever erected to Learning in the World, and therefore it was no wonder it was one of the firſt Marks that was ſhot at. This illuſtrious Society, from repeated Grants of Kings, ratify'd in Parliament, and from their own Statutes, was in an uninterrupted Poſſeſſion of a Right to elect their own Preſident. That Place being vacant by the Death of Dr. *Clark*, a Day was appointed by the Vice-Preſident and Fellows, to proceed to the Election of another

to

to fill up the Vacancy: But before the Day of Election came, *Charnock*, one of the Fellows, (who was ſince executed for the late Plot to aſſaſſinate his preſent Majeſty) brought them a Mandate from King *James*, to elect one *Farmer* into the Place; a Man of an ill Reputation, who had promis'd to declare himſelf a Roman Catholick, and was altogether uncapable of the Office by the Statutes of the College. This Mandate, the Vice-Preſident and Fellows receiv'd with all decent Reſpect; and ſent their humble Addreſs to the King, repreſenting to his Majeſty, *That* Farmer *was a Perſon in ſeveral reſpects incapable of that Office, according to their Founder's Statutes; and therefore did earneſtly beſeech his Majeſty, either to leave them to the Diſcharge of their Duty and Conſciences, according to his Majeſty's late gracious Declaration, and their Founder's Statutes; or elſe to recommend to them ſuch a Perſon, who might be more ſerviceable to his Majeſty and the College.*

Notwithſtanding this humble and ſubmiſſive Addreſs, King *James* ſignify'd his Pleaſure to them, *That he expected to be obey'd.* Upon which, the Fellows being oblig'd by the Statutes of their Society, to which they were ſworn, not to delay the Election longer than ſuch a Day, and *Farmer* being a Perſon they could not chuſe, without incurring the Sin of Perjury; they proceeded to Election, and choſe Dr. *Hough* (now Biſhop of *Lichfield* and *Coventry*) their Preſident.

Hereupon the new Preſident and Fellows were cited before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, for diſobeying the King's Mandate. And notwithſtanding they made it appear by their *Anſwer*, plac'd at length in the *Appendix*, That *they could not comply with that Mandate, without Breach of their Oath*; *and that there was no room left for the King to diſpenſe with that Oath, becauſe in the Oath itſelf they were ſworn not to make uſe of any ſuch Diſpenſation, nor in any ſort conſent thereto:* yet againſt all Law, the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners did by their Sentence *deprive Dr.* Hough *of his Preſidentſhip, and ſuſpended two of the Fellows from their Fellowſhips*; while the King, at the ſame time, inhibited the College to elect or admit any Perſon whatſoever into any Fellowſhip, or any other Place or Office in the ſaid College, till his farther Pleaſure.

Appendix, *Numb.* 19. *p.* 333.

The Court finding by this time, that *Farmer* was one of ſo profligate a Life, that though he had promis'd to declare himſelf a Roman Catholick upon his Promotion to that Place, they began to be aſham'd of him; and therefore, inſtead of inſiſting on the former *Mandamus* in his favour, there was another granted in favour of Dr. *Parker*, then Biſhop of *Oxford*, one of the Creatures of the Court, and who they knew would ſtick at nothing to ſerve a turn.

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The Place of Preſident being already in a legal manner fill'd up by the Election of Dr. *Hough*; which, tho' it had not been, yet the Biſhop of *Oxford* was likewiſe incapable, by the Statutes of the College, of being elected: the Fellows did humbly offer a very pathetick Petition to his Majeſty, mention'd at length in the *Appendix*, in which they ſet forth, *how inexpreſſible an Affliction it was to them, to find themſelves reduc'd to ſuch an Extremity, that either they muſt diſobey his Majeſty's Commands, contrary to their Inclinations, and that conſtant Courſe of Loyalty which they had ever ſhew'd hitherto upon all Occaſions, or elſe break their Founder's Statutes, and deliberately perjure themſelves.* Then they mention'd the Statutes and the Oaths that every one of them had taken at their Admiſſion into their Fellowſhips; and conclude with an humble Prayer to his Majeſty, to *give them leave to lay their Caſe and themſelves at his Majeſty's Royal Feet, earneſtly beſeeching his ſacred Majeſty to extend to them, his humble Petitioners, that Grace and Tenderneſs which he had vouchſafed to all his other Subjects.*

Appendix *Numb.* 20. *p.* 337.

All this Submiſſion was in vain; for the *Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners*, by their final *Decree and Sentence, depriv'd and expell'd from their Fellowſhips all the Fellows of* Magdalen-College, *but three that had comply'd with breach of Oath, being twenty five in Number.* And

to

to puſh their Injuſtice yet farther, they did, by another Sentence, decree and declare, *That Dr.* Hough, *who had been depriv'd before, and the ſaid twenty five Fellows, ſhould be incapable of receiving, or being admitted into any Eccleſiaſtical Dignity, Benefice, or Promotion. And ſuch of them who were not yet in holy Orders, they adjudg'd incapable of receiving, or being admitted into the ſame.* Thus, by a Decree of an illegal Court, were a ſet of worthy and learned Men turned out of their Freeholds, merely for not obeying an arbitrary Command, which was directly againſt their Conſciences. And thus was King *James* prevail'd with by a head-ſtrong Party, to aſſume a Power not only to diſpenſe with Laws, but to make void Oaths.

The ſecond Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience.

The firſt Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, was not thought a ſufficient Stretch of Power: and therefore King *James* iſſued out another of a much higher ſtrain, in which the *Roman Catholicks* were chiefly included, and indeed it was for their ſake alone it was granted. To render the Church of *England* acceſſory to their own Ruin, there was an Order of Council made upon the latter, *commanding it to be read at the uſual Times of Divine Service, in all Churches and Chappels throughout the Kingdom, and ordered the Biſhops to cauſe it to be ſent and diſtributed throughout their*

The Order of Council upon it.

their ſeveral and reſpective Dioceſes, to be read accordingly.

The Clergy of the Church of *England* had reaſon to take it for the greateſt Hardſhip and Oppreſſion that could be put upon them, to be commanded to read from their Pulpits a Declaration they knew to be againſt Law, and which in its Nature and Deſign was levell'd againſt their own Intereſt, and that of their Religion. Some of them, thro' Fear or Miſtake, and others to make their Court, comply'd; but the Generality refus'd to obey ſo unjuſt a Command. The Romiſh Party had their Ends in it, for their Refuſal laid them open to the ſevere Laſhes of the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion; and accordingly, every one that had not read the Declaration in their Churches, were order'd to be proſecuted before that inexorable Tribunal, where they were infallibly to expect to be depriv'd. And ſo moſt of the Benefices in *England* muſt have been made vacant for a new Kind of Incumbents.

But the Scene chang'd before all this could be brought about: For King *James* urg'd on by his Fate, and by a reſtleſs Party about him, came at this time to level a Blow againſt the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſix of his Suffragan Biſhops, that awaken'd the People of *England* to ſhake off their Chains, and implore foreign Aſſiſtance to retrieve the dying Liberties of their Country.

Theſe

The Affair of the ſeven Biſhops.

Theſe ſeven Biſhops being ſenſible, as moſt of the Nation was, of what was originally aim'd at in theſe two Declarations for Liberty of Conſcience, did conſult together about the humbleſt Manner to lay before King *James* the Reaſons why they could not comply with the Order of Council. Having got leave to attend him, they delivered to him, with the greateſt Submiſſion, a Petition in behalf of themſelves and their abſent Brethren, and in the Name of the Clergy of their reſpective Dioceſes, humbly repreſenting, *That their Unwillingneſs did not proceed from any want of Duty and Obedience to his Majeſty, nor from any want of due Tenderneſs to Diſſenters; in relation to whom, they were willing to come to ſuch a Temper, as ſhould be thought fit, when that Matter ſhould be conſider'd in Parliament and Convocation: But, among a great many other Conſiderations, from this eſpecially, becauſe that Declaration was founded upon ſuch a diſpenſing Power, as had been often declar'd illegal in Parliament; and was a matter of ſo great Moment and Conſequence to the whole Nation, that they could not in Prudence, Honour, or Conſcience, ſo far make themſelves Parties to it, as the Diſtribution of it all over the Kingdom, and the ſolemn Publication of it even in God's Houſe, and in the time of his Divine Service, muſt amount to, in common and reaſonable Conſtruction.* Therefore did humbly and earneſtly beſeech his Majeſty, That he would

would be graciouſly pleas'd, *not to inſiſt upon their diſtributing and reading the ſaid Declaration.*

This Petition, tho' the humbleſt that could be, and delivered by ſix of them to the King alone in his Cloſet, was ſo highly reſented, that the ſix Biſhops that preſented it, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* that writ it, but was not preſent at its Delivery, were committed Priſoners to the *Tower*.

They were a few Days after brought to the *King's-Bench Bar*, and indicted of a high Miſdemeanor, for having *falſly, unlawfully, maliciouſly, ſeditiouſly, and ſcandalouſly fram'd, compos'd, and writ a falſe, malicious, pernicious, and ſeditious Libel, concerning the King and his Royal Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, under the Pretence of a Petition; and that they had publiſhed the ſame in Preſence of the King.* There was a great Appearance at this Tryal, and it was a leading Caſe; for upon it depended, in a great meaſure, the Fate of the reſt of the Clergy of the Church of *England*. It laſted long, and in the End the ſeven Biſhops were acquitted, with the Acclamations of all but the Court Party.

There were two things very remarkable in this Tryal. The diſpenſing Power was learnedly and boldly argued againſt by the Counſel for the Biſhops, and demonſtrated by invincible Arguments to be an open Violation of the Laws and Conſtitution of the Kingdom. So that in one of the greateſt Audi-

Auditories that was ever ſeen in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and upon hearing one of the moſt ſolemn Cauſes that ever was try'd at the *King's-Bench Bar*, King *James* had the Mortification to ſee his *new-aſſum'd Prerogative* baffled, and its Illegality expoſed to the World. The other Thing obſervable upon this *Tryal*, was, that the Tables were ſo far turn'd, that ſome that had largely contributed to the enſlaving their Country with falſe Notions of Law, were now of another Opinion; while at the ſame time, others, that had ſtood up for the Liberty of their Country in two ſucceſſive Parliaments, and had ſuffer'd upon that Account, did now as much endeavour to ſtretch the Prerogative beyond its juſt Limits, as they had oppos'd it before. *So hard it is for Mankind to be in all Times, and upon all Turns, conſtant to themſelves.*

The News of the *Biſhops* being acquitted, was receiv'd with the higheſt Expreſſions of Joy throughout the whole Kingdom. Nor could the King's own Preſence prevent his *Army*, that was then encamped at *Hounſlow-Heath*, from mixing their loud Acclamations with the reſt. This laſt *Mortification* might have prevented his Fate, if his Ears had been open to any but a hot Party, that were poſitively reſolved to puſh *for all*, coſt what it would: And it was eaſily ſeen by the Soldiers Behaviour upon this Occaſion, *how impoſſible it is to debauch an* Engliſh

Army

Army from the Love of their Country and their Religion.

While the *Biſhops* were in the *Tower*, the *Roman Catholicks* had their Hopes crown'd with the Birth of a pretended Prince of *Wales*. The Fears of a *Proteſtant Succeſſor*, had been the only Allay that render'd their Proſperity leſs perfect. Now, the Happineſs of having an Heir to the Crown, to be bred up in their own Religion, quaſh'd all thoſe Fears, and aton'd for the Uncertainty of the King's Life. It was ſo much their Intereſt to have one, and there were ſo many Circumſtances that ſeem'd to render his Birth ſuſpicious, that the Nation in general were inclinable to believe, that this was the laſt *Effort* of the *Party*, to accompliſh our Ruin.

The Birth of a pretended Prince of Wales.

All things ſeem'd now to conſpire towards it. There was only a *Parliament* wanting to ratify and approve all the illegal Steps that had been made; which was to be done effectually *by taking off the penal Laws and Teſt*, the two chief *Barriers* of our Religion. To obtain ſuch a *Parliament*, no Stone was left unturn'd, and no Threats nor Promiſes neglected. *Regulators* were ſent down to every *Corporation*, to model them to this End, tho' a great part of their Work had been done to their hand; for in moſt of the new *Char-*

A new Parliament deſign'd, and to what End.

ters

ters there had been ſuch *Regulations* made, and ſuch ſort of Men put in, as was thought would make all ſure.

Cloſetting in faſhion.

But to be yet ſurer, and to try the Inclinations of People, *Cloſetting* came into faſhion; and King *James* was at pains to ſound every Man's Mind, how far he might depend upon him for his Concurrence with thoſe Deſigns. If they did not readily promiſe to ſerve the King *in his own Way*, which was the *diſtinguiſhing Word* at that time, there was ſome Brand put upon them, and they were turn'd out of Place, if they had any. Nor did King *James* think it below his Dignity, after the Prieſts had fail'd to bring in new *Converts*, to try himſelf how far his own Arguments might prevail; and he cloſetted Men for that Purpoſe too. Some few of no *Principles*, and a great many others of deſperate *Fortunes*, complimented him with their Religion, and were generally thereupon put into Employments: And ſo fond was the King of making *Proſelytes* at any rate, that there were of the *Scum* of the People that pretended to turn Papiſts, merely for the ſake of a weekly ſmall *Allowance*, which was regularly paid them.

It's a Queſtion, after all, whether the Parliament, which King *James* was thus labouring to model, would have anſwered his Expectation, had they come to ſit: for Mens Eyes were open'd more and more every Day; and

and the noble *Principles* of *Engliſh* Liberty began to kindle afreſh in the Nation, notwithſtanding all Endeavours had been us'd of a long time to extinguiſh them. Tho' the Diſſenters, who might be choſen into Parliament upon this new Model, would probably have made Terms for themſelves, to prevent their falling under any future Perſecution; yet being as averſe to Popery as any others whatſoever, it is not to be imagin'd, that they would, upon that Conſideration, have unhing'd the *Conſtitution* of *England*, to enable the *Roman Catholicks* to break in upon the eſtabliſh'd national Church; which in the End muſt have inevitably ruin'd both it and themſelves.

But there fell out, a little before this time, an *Accident* that help'd mightily to buoy up the ſinking Spirits of the Nation, and which was occaſion'd by the forward Zeal of ſome about the King, contrary to their Intentions. While the Project was going on to take off the *Penal Laws* and *Teſt*, the Proteſtants were in amaze what to expect; the good Genius of *England*, and King *James*'s ill Fate, ſet him on to make a Tryal of the Inclinations of the *Prince* and *Princeſs* of *Orange* in that matter. The Prince and Princeſs had look'd on with a ſilent Regret, upon all the unlucky Steps that were making in *England*, and were unwilling to publiſh their Opinion of them, ſince they knew it could not but be diſpleaſing to King *James*. To know their

their *Highneſſes* Mind in the Buſineſs of the *Penal Laws* and *Teſt*, was a Thing the moſt deſir'd by the Proteſtants; but there was no poſſible Way to come to this Knowledge, if King *James* himſelf had not help'd them to it.

The Prince and Princeſs of Orange's *Opinion about the Penal Laws and Teſt, declared in Penſionary* Fagel's *Letter.*

Mr. *Stuart*, ſince Sir *James Stuart*, had been pardon'd by King *James*, and receiv'd into Favour, after a long Baniſhment. He had been acquainted in *Holland* with the late *Penſionary Fagel*, and perſuaded himſelf of a more than ordinary Friendſhip with that wiſe *Miniſter*. The King foreſaw it was his Intereſt to find out, ſome one way or other, the Prince and Princeſs's Thoughts of theſe Matters; which, if they agreed with his own, were to be made publick; if otherwiſe, were to be conceal'd. And Mr. *Stuart* took that Taſk upon himſelf. *Penſionary Fagel* was in a great Poſt in *Holland*, and in a near Intimacy with the *Prince*; one that was intirely truſted by him, and ever firm to his Intereſt. To know the *Penſionary*'s Opinion, was thought to be the ſame with knowing the Prince's, ſince it was to be ſuppos'd that he would not venture to write of any Thing that concern'd *England*, eſpecially ſuch a nice Point as was then in queſtion, without the Prince's Approbation at laſt, if no: his poſitive Direction.

Upon

Upon theſe Conſiderations, and upon a Miſtake that Mr. *Stuart* was in, about the Conſtitution of *Holland*, as if the *Roman Catholicks* were not there excluded from Employments, and Places of Truſt, he writ a Letter to *Penſionary Fagel*. It's needleſs to give any Account of the Letter it ſelf ſince *Fagel*'s Anſwer, together with what has been already ſaid, do give a ſufficient Hint of the Deſign and Scope of it.

So averſe were the *Prince* and *Princeſs* of *Orange* to meddle, and ſo unwilling to allow *Penſionary Fagel* to return to this Letter an Anſwer, which they knew would not be pleaſing, that Mr. *Stuart* writ, by the King's Direction, five or ſix more, before it was thought fit to anſwer them. But at length their *Highneſſes* were in a manner forc'd to it, by the Reports that were induſtriouſly ſpread abroad in *England*, by the Emiſſaries of the Court, as if the *Penſionary*, in an Anſwer to Mr. *Stuart*, had acquainted him, That the Prince and Princeſs agreed with the King in the Deſign of taking off the *Penal Law* and *Teſt*. This was not all; for the Marquiſs *d'Albeville*, the *Engliſh* Envoy at the *Hague*, was put upon writing over to ſeveral Perſons, That the Prince of *Orange* had told him the very ſame thing; which *Letter* of *Albeville*'s was likewiſe made publick. Such Reports were enough to ſhake the Conſtancy of all thoſe that deſign'd to ſtand firm to the Intereſt of the eſtabliſh'd Church

Church in the enſuing Parliament, and to make them give all up for loſt.

The Prince and Princeſs of *Orange*, to do themſelves Juſtice, and to diſabuſe a Nation they had ſo near an Intereſt in, directed *Penſionary Fagel* to write one Anſwer to all Mr. *Stuart*'s Letters, to this Purpoſe: *That being deſir'd by Mr.* Stuart, *to let him know the Prince and Princeſs of* Orange's *Thoughts concerning the Repeal of the Penal Laws, and more particularly concerning the Teſt, he told him, That he would write without Reſerve, ſince Mr.* Stuart *had ſaid in his Letters, that they were writ by the King's Knowledge and Allowance. That it was the Prince and Princeſs's Opinion, that no Chriſtian ought to be perſecuted for his Conſcience, or be ill-us'd, becauſe he differs from the publick and eſtabliſh'd Religion: And therefore, that they can conſent, That the Papiſts in* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *be ſuffer'd to continue in their Religion with as much Liberty as is allow'd them by the States of* Holland; *in which it cannot be deny'd but they enjoy a full Liberty of Conſcience. And as to the Diſſenters, their Highneſſes did not only conſent, but did heartily approve of their having an entire Liberty for the full Exerciſe of their Religion; and that their Highneſſes were ready to concur to the ſettling and confirming of this Liberty, and protect and defend it, and likewiſe confirm it with their Guaranty, which Mr.* Stuart *had mention'd.*

And

And if his Majesty (continues the Pensionary) *desires their Concurrence in repealing the Penal Laws, their Highnesses were ready to give it, provided those Laws remain still in their full Force, by which the* Roman Catholicks *are shut out of both Houses of Parliament, and out of all pubick Employments, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Military; as likewise those other Laws which confirm the Protestant Religion, and which secure it against all the Attempts of the* Roman Catholicks. *But their Highnesses cannot agree to the Repeal of the Test, and those other Penal Laws last mention'd, that tend to the Security of the Protestant Religion, since the* Roman Catholicks *receive no other Prejudices from these, than the being excluded from Parliament, and publick Employments.*

More than this (adds *Pensionary Fagel*) *their Highnesses do think ought not to be ask'd or expected; and they wonder'd how any that profess'd themselves Christians, and that may enjoy their Religion freely, and without Disturbance. can judge it lawful for them to disturb the Quiet of any Kingdom or State, or overturn Constitutions, that so they themselves may be admitted to Employments; and that these Laws, in which the Security and Quiet of the establish'd Religion consists, should be shaken. And as to what Mr.* Stuart *had writ, That the* Roman Catholicks *in* Holland *were not shut out from Employments and Places of Trust,* he tells him, *He was grosly mistaken.* The *Pensionary* concludes, *That their Highnesses could not concur with his*

Majeſty in thoſe Matters; for they believ'd they ſhould have much to anſwer to God for, if the Conſideration of any preſent Advantage ſhould carry them to conſent to Things which they believe would not only be dangerous, but miſchievous to the Proteſtant Religion.

Thus far *Penſionary Fagel*. And I would not have dwelt ſo long upon this Letter of his, if it were not for the noble Scheme of a juſt *Liberty* in Matters of Conſcience, that's therein contain'd. Notwithſtanding it was ſtill given out at Court, and that even after it came to Mr. *Stuart*'s Hands, That he had writ the quite contrary; though it's but Charity to ſuppoſe, that Mr. *Stuart* was a Man of more Honour, than to contribute to the Report. At laſt there was a Neceſſity of making publick the Penſionary's *Letter* in ſeveral Languages, which had wonderful Influence upon the Minds of the Proteſtants of *England*, and was highly reſented by King *James*.

However, King *James* had more than one Method in his View, how to accompliſh his Deſign; for what a Parliament it may be would not do, he was reſolv'd that an Army ſhould: and therefore Care was taken to model his Troops as much to that End, as the Shortneſs of Time would allow.

The modelling the Army.

Ireland was the inexhauſtible Source whence *England* was to be furniſh'd with a *Romiſh* Army; and an *Iriſh Roman Catholick* was the moſt

moſt welcome Gueſt at *Whitehall*. They came over in Shoals, to take Poſſeſſion of the promis'd Land, and had already ſwallowed up in their Hopes the beſt Eſtates of the Hereticks in *England*. Over and above compleat *Regiments* of them, there was ſcarce a *Troop* or *Company* wherein ſome of them were not plac'd by expreſs Order from Court. Several Proteſtants that had ſerv'd well and long, were turn'd out, to make room for them; and ſeven conſiderable Officers were caſhier'd in one Day, merely for refuſing to admit them. The chief *Forts*, and particularly *Portſmouth* and *Hull*, the two Keys of *England*, were put into Popiſh Hands, and the Garriſon ſo modell'd, that the Majority were Papiſts.

To over-awe the Nation, and to make Slavery familiar, this Army was *encamp'd* yearly near *London*, where the only publick *Chappel* in the Camp was appointed for the Service of the *Romiſh* Church; and ſtrict Orders given out, that the Soldiers of that Religion ſhould not fail every *Sunday* and Holiday to repair thither to *Maſs*.

The Methods us'd in Ireland.

As *Ireland* was remarkable for having furniſh'd King *James* with *Romiſh* Troops ſent into *England*, ſo was it much more for the bare-fac'd and open Invaſions that were made there, upon the Liberties and Rights of the Proteſtants. That Kingdom was the moſt proper Field to ripen their Projects in, con-

ſidering that the Proteſtants were much outnumber'd by the Papiſts, and had been for ſome Ages the conſtant object of their Rancor and Envy, which had been more than once expreſs'd in Letters of Blood.

King *James* did recall the Earl of *Clarendon* from the Government of *Ireland*, ſoon after he was ſent thither, and appointed the Earl of *Tyrconnel* to ſucceed him, who was a Gentleman that had ſignaliz'd himſelf for his Bigotry to the Church of *Rome*, and his Hatred to the Proteſtants. The *Roman Catholick* Clergy had recommended him to King *James* for that Poſt, in a Letter mentioned at length in the *Appendix*, *as one that did firſt eſpouſe, and chiefly maintain the Cauſe of the* Catholick *Clergy, againſt their many and powerful Enemies, for the laſt five and twenty Years; and was then the only Perſon under whoſe Fortitude and Popularity in that Kingdom, they durſt with Chearfulneſs and Aſſurance own their Loyalty, and aſſert his Majeſty's Intereſt:* Making it therefore their humble Requeſt, *That his Majeſty would be pleas'd to lodge his Authority in his hands, to the Terror of the Factious, and Encouragement of his Majeſty's Faithful Subjects in* Ireland, *promiſing to receive him with ſuch Acclamations as the long captiv'd* Jews *did their Redeemer* Mordecai. Which Letter ſhew'd they were no leſs miſtaken in their Hi-

Tyrconnel *made Lord-Lieutenant of* Ireland.

Appendix, *Numb.* 21.

Hiſtory of the Bible, than in their Advice to the King; for it does not appear by the Story of *Mordecai* in the Scripture, that he was ever ſent to the *Jews*, or remov'd from the City of *Shuſhan*, after he came into Favour with *Ahaſuerus*.

However, *Tyrconnel* fully anſwer'd the Hopes and Expectations of the Papiſts, and the Fears of the Proteſtants of *Ireland*; for by the Miniſtry of this rigid Man, was the Ruin of the Proteſtant *Engliſh* Intereſt in that Kingdom in a great meaſure compleated.

At King *James*'s Acceſſion to the Crown, the *Army* of *Ireland* conſiſted of above *ſeven thouſand* Men, all Proteſtants, and zealous to the Service. Theſe were in a little time all turn'd out, and the whole Army made up of Papiſts, moſt of them the Sons or Deſcendants, or near Relations of thoſe that were attainted for the *Rebellion* in 1641, or others that had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves ſince that time, by their notorious Villanies, and implacable Hatred to the *Engliſh* and Proteſtant Intereſt.

The manner of filling the Benches in Ireland.

Though in King *Charles*'s Time, by the Influence of the Duke of *York*, there had been Grounds of Complaint againſt ſome of the Judges in *Ireland*, upon the account of their Partiality to the Papiſts; yet when King *James* came to the Crown, theſe very Judges were not thought fit enough for the Work that was deſign'd!

It was judg'd neceſſary to employ the moſt zealous of the *Party*, thoſe that from Intereſt and Inclination were the moſt deeply engaged to deſtroy the Proteſtant Intereſt; and accordingly ſuch were pick'd out to ſit in every Court of Juſtice.

The Cuſtody of the King's Conſcience and *Great Seal*, was given to Sir *Alexander Fitton*, a Perſon convicted of *Forgery*, not only at *Weſtminſter-hall* and at *Cheſter*, but fin'd for it by the Lords in Parliament. This Man was taken out of Goal, to diſcharge the Truſt of Lord *High-Chancellor*, and had no other Qualities to recommend him, beſides his being a *Convert* to the *Romiſh* Church, and a *Renegado* to his Religion and Country. To him were added, as Maſters of *Chancery*, one *Stafford*, a Popiſh Prieſt, and *O-Neal*, the Son of one of the moſt notorious Murderers in the *Maſſacre* of 1641.

In the *King's-Bench*, Care was taken to place one *Nugent*, whoſe Father had loſt his Honour and Eſtate for being a principal Actor in the ſame *Rebellion*. This Man, who had never made any Figure at the Bar, was pitch'd upon to judge whether the *Outlawries* againſt his Father and Fellow-Rebels ought to be revers'd; and whether the Settlements that were made in *Ireland* upon theſe Outlawries, ought to ſtand good.

The next Court is that of *Exchequer*, from which only, of all the Courts in *Ireland*, there

there lies no Appeal or Writ of Error in *England*. It was thought fit, that one *Rice*, a profligate Fellow, and noted for nothing but Gaming, and a mortal Inveteracy againſt the Proteſtants, ſhould fill the Place of Lord *Chief Baron*. This Man was often heard to ſay, before he came to be a Judge, *That he would drive a Coach and ſix Horſes through the Act of Settlement:* And before that Law was actually repeal'd in King *James*'s Parliament, he declared upon the Bench, *That it was againſt natural Equity, and did not oblige*. It was before him, that all the *Charters* in the Kingdom were damn'd in the ſpace of a *Term* or two; ſo much was he for Diſpatch. A learned *Prelate*, from whoſe Book all the Things that here relate to that Country, are taken, does obſerve, That if this Judge had been left alone, it was believ'd in a few Years, he would, by ſome Contrivance or other, have given away moſt of the Proteſtants Eſtates in *Ireland*, without troubling a Parliament to *attaint* them.

Dr. King *Biſhop of* Londonderry, *his State of* Ireland *under King* James.

In the Court of *Common-Pleas* it was thought adviſable, that a Proteſtant *Chief Juſtice* ſhould continue; yet ſo, as to pinion him with two of their own ſort, that might outvote him upon occaſion.

The Adminiſtration of Juſtice and the Laws being in ſuch hands, it was no wonder that the poor Proteſtants in *Ireland*

wiſh'd rather to have had no Laws at all, and be left to their natural Defence, than be cheated into the Neceſſity of ſubmitting to Laws that were executed only to puniſh, and not to protect them. Under ſuch Judges, the *Roman Catholicks* had a glorious Time; and had their Cauſe been never ſo unjuſt, they were ſure to carry it: When the Chancellor did not ſtick on all Occaſions, and ſometimes on the Bench, to declare, *That the Proteſtants were all Rogues, and that among forty thouſand of them, there was not one that was not a Traytor, a Rebel, and a Villain.*

The ſupreme Courts being thus filled up, it was but reaſonable all other Courts ſhould keep pace with them. In the Year 1687, there was not a Proteſtant *Sheriff* in the whole Kingdom, except one; and he put in by Miſtake, for another of the ſame Name, that was a *Roman Catholick*. Some few *Proteſtants* were continu'd in the *Commiſſion of the Peace*; but they were render'd uſeleſs, and inſignificant, being overpower'd in every thing by the great Number of *Papiſts* join'd in Commiſſion with them, and thoſe, for the moſt part, of the very Scum of the People; and a great many, whoſe Fathers had been executed for Theft, Robbery, or Murder.

The *Privy Council* of *Ireland* is a great Part of the Conſtitution, and has conſiderable Privileges and Powers annexed to it. This was likewiſe ſo modell'd, that

the *Papiſts* made the Majority; and thoſe few that were *Proteſtants*, choſe, for the moſt part, to decline appearing at the *Board*, ſince they could do thoſe of their own Religion no Service.

The Regulating the Corporations in Ireland.

The great Barrier of the People's Liberties both in *England* and *Ireland*, being their Right to chuſe their own *Repreſentatives* in Parliament; which being once taken away, they become Slaves to the Will of their Prince: The Proteſtants in *Ireland* finding a Neceſſity of ſecuring this Right in their own Hands, had procur'd many *Corporations* to be founded, and had built many corporate Towns at their own Charges; from all which, the *Roman Catholicks* were by their *Charters* excluded. This *Barrier* was broken through at one Stroke, by diſſolving all the *Corporations* in the Kingdom, upon *Quo Warranto's* brought into the *Exchequer-Court*, and that without ſo much as the leaſt Shadow of Law. Hereupon new *Charters* were granted, and fill'd up chiefly with Papiſts, and men of deſperate or no Fortunes. And a Clauſe was inſerted in every one of them, which ſubjected them to the abſolute Will of the King; by which it was put into the Power of the chief Governor, to turn out, and put in whom he pleas'd, without ſhewing a Reaſon, or any formal Tryal at Law.

The Severities against the Proteſtant Clergy.

The Proteſtant Clergy felt upon all Occaſions the Weight of *Tyrconnel*'s Wrath. The *Prieſts* began to declare openly That the *Tythes* belong'd to them, and forbad their People, under the Pain of Damnation, to pay them to the Proteſtant Incumbents. This paſſed afterwards into an *Act* of Parliament, by which, not only all Tythes payable by Papiſts, were given to their own Prieſts, but likewiſe a Way was found out to make the Popiſh Clergy capable of enjoying the Proteſtant Tythes. Which was thus: If a Proteſtant happen'd to be poſſeſs'd of a *Biſhoprick*, a *Dignity*, or other *Living*, he might not by this new Act demand any Tythes, or Eccleſiaſtical Dues, from any *Roman Catholick*; and as ſoon as his Preferment became void by Death, Ceſſion, or Abſence, a Popiſh Biſhop, or Clergy-man, was put into his Place. And the Act was ſo expreſs, that there needed no more to oblige all Men to repute and deem a Man to be a *Roman Catholick* Biſhop, or Dean of any Place, but the King's ſignifying him to be ſo, under his privy Signet, or ſign Manual. As ſoon as any one came to be thus entitled to a Biſhoprick, Deanery, or Living, immediately all the Tythes, as well of *Proteſtants* as *Papiſts*, became due to him, with all the Glebes and Eccleſiaſtical Dues.

The

Againſt the Univerſity of Dublin.

The only great Nurſery of Learning in *Ireland*, is the *Univerſity* of *Dublin*, conſiſting of a *Provoſt*, ſeven ſenior and nine junior *Fellows*, and ſeventy *Scholars*, who are partly maintain'd by a yearly *Salary* out of the *Exchequer*. This *Salary* the Earl of *Tyrconnel* ſtopt, merely for their not admitting into a vacant *Fellowſhip*, contrary to their Statutes and Oaths, a vicious ignorant Perſon, who was a new Convert. Nor could he be prevail'd with by any Interceſſion or Entreaty, to remove the Stop; by which, in effect, he diſſolv'd the *Foundation*, and ſhut up the Fountain of Learning and Religion. This appear'd more plainly afterwards to have been his Deſign; for it was not thought enough, upon King *James*'s Arrival, to take away their Maintenance, but they were farther proceeded againſt, and the Vice-Preſident, Fellows, and Scholars all turned out, their Furniture, Library, and Communion-Plate ſeiz'd; and every thing that belong'd to the College, and to the private Fellows and Scholars, taken away. All this was done, notwithſtanding that when they waited upon King *James* at his firſt Arrival at *Dublin*, he was pleas'd to promiſe them, *That he would preſerve them in their Liberties and Properties, and rather augment than diminiſh the Privileges and Immunities that had been granted them by his Predeceſſors.* In the *Houſe* they placed a Garriſon,

and turned the *Chappel* into a Magazine, and the Chambers into Priſons for the Proteſtants. One *More*, a Popiſh Prieſt, was made *Provoſt*; and one *Mackarty*, alſo a Prieſt, was made *Library-keeper*; and the whole deſign'd for them and their *Fraternity*.

One *Archbiſhoprick*, and ſeveral *Biſhopricks*, and a great many other Dignities and Livings of the Church, were deſignedly kept vacant, and the Revenues firſt paid into the *Exchequer*, and afterwards diſpos'd of to *Titular* Biſhops and Prieſts, while in the mean time the Cures lay neglected; ſo that it appear'd plainly, that the Deſign was to deſtroy the Succeſſion of Proteſtant Clergymen. At length things came to that height, after King *James* was in *Ireland*, that moſt of the Churches in and about *Dublin*, were ſeized upon by the Government; and at laſt *Lutterell*, Governor of *Dublin*, iſſu'd out his *Order*, mention'd in the *Appendix*, *Forbidding more than five Proteſtants to meet together, under pain of Death.* Being aſked, whether this was deſign'd to hinder meeting in Churches? He anſwer'd, It was deſign'd to hinder their meeting there, as well as in other Places. And accordingly all the Churches were ſhut up, and all religious Aſſemblies through the whole Kingdom forbidden, under the pain of Death.

Appendix, *Numb.* 22.

It

It were endleſs to enumerate all the Miſeries that Reverend Author mentions, which the Proteſtants of *Ireland* ſuffer'd in the Reign of King *James*: But to give a deciſive Blow, there was an Act of Attainder paſs'd in Parliament, in order to which every Member of the Houſe of Commons return'd the Names of all ſuch Proteſtant Gentlemen as liv'd near them, or in the County or Borough for which he ſerv'd; and if he was a Stranger to any of them, he ſent to the Country for Information about them. When this Bill was preſented to the King for his Aſſent, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons told him, *That many were attainted in that Act upon ſuch Evidence as ſatisfy'd the Houſe, and the reſt upon common Fame.*

The Act of Attainder in Ireland.

In this Act were no fewer attainted, than two Arch-biſhops, one Duke, ſeventeen Earls, ſeven Counteſſes, twenty eight Viſcounts, two Viſcounteſſes, ſeven Biſhops, eighteen Barons, thirty three Baronets, fifty one Knights, eighty three Clergymen, two thouſand one hundred eighty two Eſquires and Gentlemen: And all of them unheard, declar'd and adjudg'd Traytors, convicted and attainted of High Treaſon, and adjudg'd to ſuffer the Pains of Death and Forfeiture. The famous Proſcription at *Rome*, during the laſt Triumvirate, came not up in ſome reſpects to the Horror of this; for there were

were condemn'd in this little Kingdom more than double the Number that were proſcrib'd through the vaſt bounds of the *Roman* Empire. And to make this of *Ireland* yet the more terrible, and to put the Perſons attainted out of a poſſibility of eſcaping, the Act it ſelf was conceal'd, and no Proteſtant allow'd a Copy of it, till four Months after it was paſt. Whereas in that of *Rome*, the Names of the Perſons proſcrib'd were affix'd upon all the publick Places of the City, the very Day the Proſcription was concerted; and thereby Opportunity was given to many of the nobleſt Families in *Rome*, to preſerve themſelves by a ſpeedy Flight, for better Times.

There remain'd but one Kingdom more for the Romiſh Party to act their Deſigns in, and that was *Scotland*; where they reap'd a full Harveſt of their Hopes, and there were ſcarce left the leaſt Remains of antient Liberty in that Nation. Their Miſeries were ſumm'd up in one new-coin'd Word, which was us'd in all the King's Declarations, and ſerv'd to expreſs to the full their abſolute Slavery; which was this, *That his Subjects were oblig'd to obey him without Reſerve.* A Word that the Princes of the *Eaſt*, how abſolute ſoever they be, did never yet pretend to in their Stile, whatever they might in their Actions. But I leave the Detail of the Encroachments that were made upon the Laws and Liberties of that Kingdom, to others

thers that may be thought more impartial, as having ſuffer'd leſs in their Ruins.

The Intereſt that foreign Princes and States had in England.

While King *James* was thus puſh'd on by a head-ſtrong Party, to enſlave his Subjects, the other Princes and States of *Europe* look'd on with quite different Sentiments, according as their own Intereſts and Safety mov'd them. The greater Part did commiſerate the Fate of theſe three Kingdoms, and wiſh'd for their Deliverance. The Proteſtants ſaw with Regret that they themſelves were within an immediate Proſpect of loſing the moſt conſiderable Support of their Religion; and both they and the Roman Catholicks were equally convinc'd, that it was their common Intereſt to have *England* continue in a Condition to be the Arbiter of Chriſtendom, eſpecially at a time when they ſaw they moſt needed it. On the other hand, it was the Intereſt of another Prince, that not only the King of *England* ſhould be his Friend, but the Kingdom of *England* ſhould become inconſiderable abroad, which it could not fail to be, when enſlav'd at home.

King *James* had been again and again ſollicited, not only by Proteſtant Princes, but thoſe of his own Religion, to enter into other Meaſures for the common Safety of *Europe*; at leaſt, not to contribute to its Ruin, by eſpouſing an Intereſt which they judg'd was oppoſite to it. The Emperor, a

mong

mong others, had, by his Ambaſſador, made repeated Inſtances to him to this purpoſe; but with no better Succeſs than the reſt, as appears by a Letter he writ to him after his Abdication, which has been printed in ſeveral Languages, and was conceiv'd in elegant *Latin*, as all the publick Diſpatches of that Court are. But all theſe Remonſtrances had no weight with King *James*, tho' they had this good effect in the end, as to put thoſe Princes and States upon ſuch Meaſures, as ſecur'd to them the Friendſhip of *England* in another way.

The Emperor's Letter to King James *in* Latin, *printed at* London, 1689.

The Power of *France* was by this time become the Terror and Envy of the reſt of *Europe*; and that Crown had upon all ſides extended its Conqueſts. The *Empire*, *Spain*, and *Holland*, ſeem'd to enjoy a precarious Peace, while the common Enemy of the Chriſtian Name was making War with the Emperor, and the State of *Venice*, and was once very near being Maſter of the Imperial Seat, whereby he might have carry'd the War into the Bowels of *Germany*. The main Strength of the Empire being turn'd againſt the *Turks*, and that with various Succeſs, there was another War declar'd againſt the Emperor by *France*; ſo that it came to be abſolutely neceſſary for *Spain* and *Holland* to interpoſe, not as Mediators, for that they were not to hope for, but as Allies and Partners in the War.

War. Theſe laſt, as well as other Princes and States that lay neareſt the *Rhine*, were expos'd to the Mercy of a Prince whom they were not able to reſiſt, if *England* ſhould look on as Neuters, or take part againſt 'em; the laſt of which they had reaſon to fear.

Thus it happen'd, that the Fortune of *England*, and that of the greateſt part of Chriſtendom came to be link'd together, and their common Liberties muſt of neceſſity have undergone one and the ſame Fate. The latter, from a natural Principle of Self-preſervation, were reſolv'd to make their laſt Effort to break the Fetters, which they ſaw were ready to be impos'd upon them; and the other, animated by the Example of their Anceſtors, and the Conſtitution of their Country, which is diametrically oppoſite to Tyranny, were reſolv'd to venture All, to retrieve themſelves and their Poſterity from the Chains that were already put upon them.

The Intereſt the Prince of Orange *had in* England.

Both the one and the other might have ſtruggl'd in vain to this day with the Ruin that threaten'd them, if Heaven, in pity to their Condition, had not provided, in the Perſon of the Prince of *Orange*, the only Sanctuary that was left them to ſhelter their ſinking State. This Prince, by his Mother, was a Nephew of *England*, and in Right of the Princeſs his Wife, the preſumptive Heir of the Crown. By his Father's ſide, he was Heir of an illuſtrious

luſtrious Family, that had eterniz'd their Name, by delivering their Country from Slavery, and laying the Foundation of a mighty Commonwealth, which has ſince prov'd the greateſt Bulwark of the Proteſtant Religion, and the chief Support of the Liberty of Chriſtendom. A Family born for the Good of Mankind, to be the Scourge of Tyrants, and Deliverers of the Oppreſs'd.

The ill Circumſtances of the Houſe of Orange *at his Birth.*

The Father of this Prince dy'd young, poſſeſs'd of Hereditary Dignities he deriv'd from his Anceſtors in the *States of the United Provinces*; which had plac'd them upon a level with moſt Princes of *Europe*, and had given them a Figure in the World equal to ſome Crown'd Heads. He had marry'd a Princeſs of *England*, the eldeſt Daughter of King *Charles* I. and left her with Child of this only Son, at a time when the Royal Family of *England* was not only bereft of their Regal Power at home, but forc'd to ſeek Refuge abroad. The Father was ſcarce dead, and the Son yet unborn, when a Party in *Holland*, that always oppos'd the Houſe of *Orange*, took hold of that unhappy Juncture, to diveſt the Family by a publick Decree, of all the Dignities and Offices they had enjoy'd ſince the firſt Foundation of that Commonwealth, and which they had ſo juſtly acquir'd as the Rewards of ſo many glo-

glorious Services they had done their Country.

Under theſe diſmal Circumſtances was the Prince of *Orange*, now King of *England*, born; and in Apartments hung with Mourning, for the untimely Death of a Father, and the Murder of a Royal Grand-father, he firſt ſaw Light.

He was about ten Years of Age, when his Uncle King *Charles* the Second was reſtor'd; and whether it proceeded from Want of Power, or of Will in the one, the Condition of the other was little better'd by that Change. It's true, King *Charles*, in his Wars with *Holland*, did always mention the Injury done to his Nephew, as one of the Motives of his breaking with the States: Yet neither in the Treaty of *Breda* in 1667, nor in the Alliance made at the *Hague* in 1668, nor that of the Peace concluded at *London* in 167¾, was there any Notice taken of the Prince of *Orange*'s Intereſt. In this laſt it's confeſs'd it was needleſs, ſeeing ſome little time before, he was reſtor'd to all his Hereditary Offices and Dignities upon the following Occaſion.

The manner how he was reſtor'd to the Dignities of his Family.

King *Charles*, the *French* King, and the Biſhop of *Munſter*, had enter'd into a mutual League againſt the *Hollanders* in the Year 1672. while in purſuance of that League, King *Charles* with-

without any previous Declaration of War, did ſend out a ſtrong Squadron of Ships to intercept their *Smyrna* Fleet, and ruin their Trade at Sea; and, while the Biſhop of *Munſter* did invade the Provinces that lay next to him, the *French* King, at the head of a Royal Army, of at leaſt 118000 Foot, and 26000 Horſe, broke in upon them on the other ſide. Like an impetuous Torrent he carry'd all before him, without any remarkable Oppoſition; making himſelf Maſter, in a few Weeks, of above forty Towns, and Places of Strength; ſome without firing a Gun, and the reſt with little or no Reſiſtance. This Army was compos'd of the beſt Troops that had been ſeen together for ſome Ages before, and was made up of ſeveral Nations. Over and above the *French* themſelves, there were 3000 *Engliſh*, 3000 *Catalans*, 3000 *Genoeſe*, and other *Italians*, 6000 *Savoyards*, 1200 *German* Horſe, 10000 *Swiſſers*, without reckoning into the Number, the antient Regiments of that Nation in the *French* Service; and which is altogether new and extraordinary, there was a Regiment of *Swiſs* Horſe. Under the King in Perſon, this Army was commanded by two of the greateſt Generals of the Age, the late Prince of *Conde*, and the Mareſchal *Turenne*.

Memoirs Politiq. de Monſieur du Mont.

Never

Never was any State nearer its Ruin, than that of *Holland* was upon this Irruption; and in the Opinion of all the World, the end of that flouriſhing Republick was then at hand. The *French* pierced into the Bowels of *Holland* as far as *Utrecht*, where the King kept a ſplendid Court, and receiv'd Embaſſies from all Parts. He was already Maſter of three of the ſeven Provinces, and a fourth was in the Hands of the Biſhop of *Munſter*, his Alley. The Conſternation was ſo great in the reſt, that it's ſaid, it was debated at *Amſterdam*, whether they ſhould ſend the Keys of that Town to the *French* King at *Utrecht*, or hold out a Siege.

The deſperate Conditon of Holland, *An.* 1672.

Scarce any thing can paint out in livelier Colours the low Ebb the Commonwealth of *Holland* was brought to at that time, than the Declaration which the *French* King publiſh'd at *Arnheim*, plac'd at length in the *Appendix*. In this, the *French* King declar'd, that all the Inhabitants of the Towns in *Holland*, that ſhould render themſelves willingly his Subjects, and receive his Troops, ſhould not only be treated favourably, but likewiſe be maintained in their Liberties and Privileges, and enjoy the free Exerciſe of their Religion. But on the contrary, whoever of them did not ſubmit themſelves, of what Degree or Condition ſoever

Appendix, *Numb.* 23. *p.* 344.

ſoever they be, or ſhould endeavour to reſiſt his Arms, by opening their Sluices, or any other way, they ſhould be puniſh'd with the utmoſt Rigour: *His Majeſty being reſolv'd to give no Quarter to the Inhabitants of thoſe Towns that ſhall reſiſt his Arms, but an Order to pillage their Goods, and burn their Houſes.*

The Cauſes of that Deſolation.

Among the more immediate Cauſes of this ſurpriſing Deſolation of *Holland*, upon the Irruption of the *French* Army, there were chiefly theſe two: 1. The ſupine Security, or rather profound Lethargy, they were of late fallen into. And, 2. Their inteſtine Diviſions.

As to the firſt, a vaſt opulent Trade thro' moſt parts of the World had wonderfully enrich'd them, and brought them to neglect and forget the Art of War. A Peace that had continued without any remarkable Interruption for about twenty Years at Land, lull'd them ſo faſt aſleep with falſe Notions of their own Strength, that they had neglected their Fortifications and Martial Diſcipline, and were brought to believe, that their Neighbour's Garriſons and ſtrong Places were ſufficient to cover them from all Inſults.

As to the ſecond, Their Anceſtors, at the firſt founding their State, taking into their Conſideration, that they were to raiſe a Commonwealth out of a great many diſtinct Govern-

Governments, independent originally on one another, and govern'd by Cuſtoms and Laws peculiar to every Town and Province, and how difficult it was to prevent inteſtine Diviſions in a Body thus aggregated; did wiſely provide againſt ſuch a deſtructive Inconvenience, by conſtituting an Hereditary Stadtholder and Captain-General, whoſe Office and Power was to be the Center in which all the various Lines of their Conſtitution ſhould meet, and the Cement that ſhould keep the whole Frame together. This high and important Dignity was lodg'd in the Family of *Orange*; and it was to the auſpicious Conduct of the Princes of that Houſe, that the States of *Holland* ow'd their firſt Settlement, and the Figure they have made ever ſince in the World.

What their Anceſtors foreſaw, and had thus wiſely provided againſt, came to paſs: For no ſooner was this Office and Dignity aboliſh'd upon the Death of the laſt Prince of *Orange*, through the Intereſt of a prevailing Faction, but they fell into inteſtine Diviſions and Animoſities at home, and ſunk in their Reputation abroad; inſomuch, that it was juſtly ſaid, *That inſtead of being United, they were become the Diſunited Provinces.*

There may be a third Reaſon given for this Chain of Misfortunes that overwhelm'd the *Hollanders* the firſt Year of this War. from a falſe, though plauſible Notion of

ſaving Money, they thought fit to reduce their Army to 25000 Men, and rejected the repeated Propoſitions of *Spain*, to enter into a Treaty with them for a mutual Supply of Money yearly to *England* and *Sweden*, by which theſe two Crowns might be enabled and encouraged to maintain and continue the Triple League. And, which was yet worſe, the few Troops they had, were in a bad Condition, and ſunk to a very low degree, both in Diſcipline and Courage. Their Fortifications were every where fallen into Decay, and their Magazines ill provided. To compleat all their Misfortunes, they wanted a Head to command them, at leaſt one of Weight and Authority enough to ſupport ſo great a Truſt.

It were in vain to attempt to expreſs the deplorable Condition of the *Hollanders* at that time. It's enough to ſay, the Approach of a triumphant King, fluſh'd with Victories, put them into ſo deep a Conſternation, that a great many of the richeſt Families abandon'd their Country, and retir'd to *Hamburgh*, *Antwerp*, and other Places of Security; while the States General were upon giving Orders for removing the Courts and Archives from the *Hague*, for fear they ſhould fall into the Enemy's Hands. This horrid Fright, which ſpread itſelf every where, and grew every Day greater, was ſufficient of itſelf to occaſion the entire Ruin of their State, though it had not been accompany'd,

company'd, as it was, with Seditions, Diviſions, and Tumults in every Town and Province, and they had no Enemy within their Bowels. Thoſe alone did naturally tend to the Diſſolution of the *Belgick* Union, without any other concurring Circumſtances to hurry it on.

Matters ſtanding thus in the *United Provinces*, they came to ſee, when it was almoſt too late, their former Errors, and more particularly that of aboliſhing the Office of Stadtholder. And now, as the laſt Caſt for their Liberty, they applied to the Prince of *Orange*, (young though he was) as the only Perſon capable to ſupport their tottering State, and to put a Stop to the Miſeries that overwhelm'd their Country. With the univerſal Conſent and Approbation of the People, and the publick Sanction of the States, he was declared Stadtholder, Captain and Admiral General, and reſtor'd to all the Dignities of his Family.

It's hard to determine whether the Miſfortunes of his Country, or the univerſal Love the People bore him, contributed moſt to his Reſtoration. However, he was reſtor'd in ſpite of the *Barnevelt* Faction, and had the Pleaſure to ſee *De Wit*, the greateſt Oppoſer of his Houſe, among the other Deputies that waited upon him with the Reſolutions of the States General, and deliver'd him his firſt Commiſſion.

The Difficulties this young Prince had to ſtruggle with, in ſupporting his ſinking Country, would have pall'd any Courage but his own; and may in the main be gathered from what has been already ſaid. What theſe were, upon his firſt heading the Army, are in part ſo well expreſs'd by a *French* Author, who was a conſiderable Actor in that War on the *French* ſide, and has writ the Account of it with an Impartiality not over-frequent among the Hiſtorians of his Country, that it may not be amiſs to tranſcribe ſome few Paſſages relating to this matter, as they lie together in the *Engliſh* Tranſlation.

Th Hiſtory of the Mareſchal Turenne, *by Monſieur* de Buſſon, *rendred out of* French *by* Ferrand Spence, 1686

The Difficulties the P. of Orange *had to grapple with for retrieving his Country from Ruin.*

" Nothing but the Seaſon " of the Year, *ſays he*, hinder'd " the *French* from attempting " new Conqueſts, or rather the " Waters which cover'd the " Surface of the Earth. The " Duke of *Luxemburgh* be- " ing ſtill at *Utrecht*, hoped " however, that if once it came to freeze, he " might by means of the Ice ſurprize ſeve- " ral Poſts, that were otherwiſe inacceſ- " ſible. As the Enemy (*meaning the* Hol- " landers) were not unacquainted with his " Deſign, they had ever the Shovel and " Pick-ax in their hands, to precaution " them-

" themſelves againſt this Misfortune, upon " the firſt Froſt that ſhould come. They " broke the leaſt Piece of Ice, hoping, by " taking ſuch ſtrict Care, they ſhould ren- " der all his Meaſures abortive. But it " happening to freeze all of a ſudden, it " was impoſſible for them to repair in ſeve- " ral Days what fell out in one Night. " This caſt ſo great an Alarm into the " Places that were the moſt expos'd, that " People's Minds were wholly ſet upon re- " moving thence what they had moſt pre- " cious.

" The Conſternation ſpread it ſelf to the " very *Hague*; which being deſtitute of " Walls and Defence, could not otherwiſe " expect but a ſtrange Deſolation, if the Poſts " that cover'd it came to be forc'd. How- " ever, the Prince of *Orange*, *who laid the pub- " lick Miſeries as much to heart, as if they had " only regarded himſelf*, had not for all this " been under any Apprehenſions, if his " Troops, by being ſo often beaten, had not " utterly loſt their Courage; for tho' the " Ice ſeem'd to give a great Advantage to " the *French*, they would however run a " great Riſque, in coming to attack him in " Places well intrench'd, and where his " *Highneſs* might oppoſe againſt them as ma- " ny Men as they could have. He was buſy'd " Day and Night, either in adding new For- " tifications to thoſe that were already " made, or in encouraging his Captains,

" and Soldiers. But whatever Care he took,
" Colonel *Penvil* abandon'd his Poſt upon
" the Requeſt of the Inhabitants of *Dergau*,
" who ſent for him to main-
" tain their Walls. The Duke
" of *Luxemburgh* truſting ra-
" ther to the Terror than the
" Strength of his Troops,
" marching in the mean while
" towards *Bodegrave* and *Swammerdam*, won
" both Sword in hand. And, as if this
" Action had not been ſufficiently glorious,
" by reaſon of the little Oppoſition he met
" with, he would render it the more remark-
" able, not only by the Slaughter that he
" made of thoſe that were found in Arms,
" but of all ſorts of Perſons, even Women
" and Children. He was often heard, a-
" midſt the piteous Cries that every one
" made to move him to Compaſſion, to bid
" his Soldiers give no Quarter, but plunder,
" raviſh, and kill. He himſelf did what he
" ſaid; and his Men, after his Example,
" having delug'd the Streets with Rivers of
" Blood, enter'd the Houſes, where they
" committed inconceivable Cruelties. Seve-
" ral Women were violated in their Huſ-
" bands Arms, ſeveral Maidens in their Fa-
" thers; and whoever went about to oppoſe
" ſuch criminal Exceſſes, was piteouſly maſ-
" ſacred by theſe *Furies*, who ſuffer'd them-
" ſelves to be no longer govern'd, but by
" their

The Duke of Luxemburgh's *cruelties at* Swammerdam.

" their diſorderly Paſſion, and by their Cru-
" elty. *Thus far my Author.*

Notwithſtanding theſe Difficulties and Diſcouragements that ſeemed inſuperable, wonderful and ſurpriſing were the Conſequences of the Prince of *Orange*'s Reſtoration. As if that Family alone were deſign'd of Heaven to be the Founder and Reſtorer of *Holland*; it fell out, that immediately upon his being call'd to the *Helm*, the whole Scene of their Affairs chang'd to the better. At the head of a ſmall ill-diſciplin'd Army, diſcourag'd by continual Loſſes, he not only put a ſtop to the *French* Conqueſts, but by taking firſt *Naerden*, in ſpite of an Army near four times greater than his own, and carrying afterwards the War out of his own Country, he oblig'd the Enemy to abandon their Conqueſts in *Holland*, as faſt as they had gain'd them, and be contented to retire to the Defence of their own Frontiers.

This War was attended with various Succeſſes on all ſides, and moſt of the Princes of *Europe* came to be ſome way or other engag'd in it, till at laſt it ended in the Treaty of *Nimeguen*. The part King *Charles* acted in all theſe Tranſactions, contributed but little to his Glory; for he had been unſucceſsful while he was engag'd in the War, and when he came to be a Mediator for the Peace, all Parties grew jealous of him, and neglected him.

It was during the Courſe of the War, as has been ſaid before, that King *Charles* a-ton'd for all the Errors of his Reign, by marrying his Niece, the Lady *Mary*, to the Prince of *Orange:* And whatever were the Motives that induc'd him to comply in this with the univerſal Wiſhes of his People, it has been found ſince, that not only *England*, but the greateſt part of *Europe*, do ſhare at this Day in the Bleſſings that have attended it.

By this Match, the Prince of *Orange* had a double *Intereſt* in *England*, both as a Prince of the Blood himſelf, and in Right of his Princeſs, the next preſumptive Heir. He liv'd with King *Charles* in as much Friendſhip as was poſſible, for one that would not enter into an Intereſt ſeparate from that of his Country, or of *England*; inſomuch, that in all the Endeavours that were made to exclude the Duke of *York* from the Crown, he looked on, without eſpouſing any of the Parties that ſtruggled for or againſt the Bill of Excluſion, tho' he knew it was deſign'd, that he and the Princeſs ſhould ſucceed upon the Death of *King Charles*.

When King *James* came to the Throne, the Prince of *Orange* try'd all poſſible Means to cultivate a ſincere Friendſhip with him, and to perſuade him to enter into ſuch Meaſures as might tend to the common Safety of *Europe*, and the Happineſs of *England*; which, if King *James* had given ear to,

to, would have preſerv'd the Crown upon his Head. And ſo cautious was he of giving him any reaſonable Ground of Complaint, that tho' in King *Charles*'s time he had given a generous Welcome to the Duke of *Monmouth*, at the Requeſt of that King, upon his retiring to *Holland*; yet as ſoon as he knew that that unhappy Gentleman deſign'd to invade *England* upon King *James*'s Acceſſion to the Throne, he offer'd to come over in Perſon to his Aſſiſtance, and ſent him with all Expedition the *Engliſh* and *Scots* Troops that were in the Service of the States.

It had been happy for King *James*, if he had comply'd with the Advice of the Prince of *Orange*, or had not by his Succeſs againſt *Monmouth*, been puſh'd on to make the Steps that have been mention'd, together with a great many more, for Brevity's ſake here omitted, towards his own Ruin, and that of the Conſtitution of *England*. But being flatter'd with the gawdy Charms of abſolute Power, and the empty Merit of reſtoring the Romiſh Religion, he drove on without controul, till at laſt he forc'd the People of *England* upon an inevitable Neceſſity of calling in the Prince of *Orange* to retrieve the expiring Liberties of their Country.

At the ſame time an indiſſoluble Friendſhip and Alliance, which King *James* had enter'd into when Duke of *York*, and had cultivated afterwards when he came to the

Crown, was a Matter of that vaſt Conſequence to the neighbouring Princes and States, as would not permit them to ſtand by as unconcern'd Spectators of the Scene that was acting in *England*; but oblig'd them likewiſe to have recourſe to the Prince of *Orange* for breaking off their own Fetters, by breaking firſt thoſe of *England*.

But by what Steps and concurring Accidents, and with what ſurpriſing Circumſtances this mighty Deſign came about, may ſome time or other, though perhaps not ſo properly in this Age, be the Subject of a ſecond Part, when it meets with one of more Leiſure and Capacity to write it.

FINIS.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.

Containing a Collection of Inſtruments and Original Papers, referr'd to in the former Memoirs.

NUMB. I.

The Character of the Members of the Houſe of Commons in Queen Elizabeth's *Time, and how differing from thoſe in the Reign of King* James.

Memoirs, *p.* 6. *Naunton's* Fragmenta Regalia, *p.* 13, 14.

WE muſt aſcribe ſome part of the Commendation to the Wiſdom of the Times, and the Choice of Parliament Men; for I find not that they were at any time given to any violent or pertinacious Diſpute; Elections being made of grave and diſcreet Perſons, not factious and ambitious of Fame; ſuch as came not to the Houſe with a malevolent Spirit of Contention, but with a Preparation to conſult on the publick Good, rather to comply than conteſt with her Majeſty. Neither do I find, that the Houſe was at any time weaken'd and peſter'd with

the Admiſſion of too many young Heads, as it hath been of later Times; which remembers me of Recorder *Martin*'s Speech, about the tenth of our late Sovereign Lord King *James*, when there were Accounts taken of forty Gentlemen not above twenty, and ſome not exceeding ſixteen: which mov'd him to ſay, That it was the antient Cuſtom for old Men to make Laws for young ones; but that then he ſaw the Caſe alter'd, and that there were Children elected unto the Great Council of the Kingdom, which came to invade and invert Nature, and to enact Laws to govern their Fathers. Sure we are, the Houſe always took the common Cauſe into their Conſideration, and they ſaw the Queen had juſt occaſion, and need enough to uſe their Aſſiſtance. Neither do I remember, that the Houſe did ever capitulate, or prefer their private to the publick, the Queen's Neceſſities, *&c.* but waited their Times, and in the firſt place gave their Supply, and according to the Exigency of her Affairs, yet fail'd not at laſt to obtain what they deſir'd: ſo that the Queen and her Parliaments had ever the good Fortune to depart in Love, and on reciprocal Terms; which are Conſiderations which have not been ſo exactly obſerved in our laſt Aſſemblies as they might, and I would to God they had been: For conſidering the great Debt left on the King, and in what Incumbrances the Houſe it ſelf had

then

then drawn him, his Majeſty was not well us'd, though I lay not the blame on the whole Suffrage of the Houſe, where he had many good Friends; for I dare avouch, had the Houſe been free'd of half a dozen of popular and diſcontented Perſons, ſuch as (with the Fellow that burnt the Temple at *Epheſus*) would be talk'd of, tho' but for doing of Miſchief, I am confident the King had obtain'd that which in Reaſon, and at his firſt Acceſſion, he ought to have receiv'd freely, and without any Condition.

NUMB. II.

The Character of Cecil, *Earl of* Saliſbury; *with his Letter to the Lord* Mountjoy, *about the* Spaniards *invading* Ireland.

Memoirs *p.* 12. Naunton *Ib. p.* 80, 81, 82, 83.

AND ſo again to this great Maſter of State, and the Staff of the Queen's declining Age; who, though his little crooked Perſon could not promiſe any great Supportation, yet it carried thereon a Head and a Head-piece of a vaſt Content: and therein it ſeems Nature was ſo diligent to compleat one and the beſt part about him, as that to the Perfection of his Memory and Intellectuals, ſhe took care alſo of his Senſes, and to put him in *Lynceos Oculos*, or to pleaſure him the more, borrow'd of *Argos*,

ſo to give unto him a proſpective Sight: And for the reſt of his ſenſitive Virtues, his Predeceſſor *Walſingham* had left him a Receit to ſmell out what was done in the Conclave; and his good old Father was ſo well ſeen in the Mathematicks, as that he could tell you through all *Spain*, every Part, every Ship, with the Burdens, whither bound, what Preparation, what Impediments for Diverſions of Enterprizes, Counſels, and Reſolutions. And that we may ſee (as in a little Map) how docible this little Man was, I will preſent a Taſte of his Abilities.

Mountjoy. My Lord of *Devonſhire* (upon the certainty the *Spaniard* would invade *Ireland* with a ſtrong Army) had written very earneſtly to the Queen and the Council, for ſuch Supplies to be ſent over, that might enable him to march up to the *Spaniard*, if he did land, and follow on his Proſecution againſt the Rebels.

Earl of Saliſbury. Sir *Robert Cecil* (beſides the general Diſpatch of the Council, as he often did) wrote this in private; for theſe two began then to love dearly.

My Lord, *Out of the abundance of my Affection, and the Care I have of your Well-doing, I muſt in private put you out of doubt, (for of Fear I know you cannot be otherwiſe ſenſible, than in the way of Honour) that the* Spaniard *will not come unto you this Year; for I have it from my own, what Preparations are in all his Parts, and*

and what he can do; for be confident, he beareth up a Reputation by ſeeming to embrace more than he can gripe: but the next Year be aſſur'd he will caſt over unto you ſome forlorn Hopes, which how they may be reinforc'd beyond his preſent Ability, and his firſt Intention, I cannot as yet make any certain Judgment; but I believe, out of my Intelligence, that you may expect their landing in Munſter, *and, the more to diſtract you, in ſeveral Places, as at* Kingſale, Beerhaven, Baltimore; *where you may be ſure (coming from Sea) they will firſt fortify and learn the ſtrength of the Rebels, before they dare take the Field. Howſoever, (as I know you will not) leſſen not your Care neither your Defences; and whatſoever lies within my Power to do you and the Publick Service, reſt thereof aſſur'd.*

Note, All came exactly to paſs, as this Letter inſinuates.

NUMB. III.

Queen Elizabeth's *Speech to the Houſe of Commons, in anſwer to their Addreſs about her Marriage.*

Memoirs, *p.* 11 Camden's *Hiſt. of Queen* Eliz. *p.* 26, 27.

IN a Matter moſt unpleaſing, moſt pleaſing to me is the apparent Good-Will of you and my People, as proceeding from a very good Mind towards me and the Commonwealth. Concerning Marriage, which ye

ye ſo earneſtly move me to, I have been long ſince perſuaded, that I was ſent into this World by God, to think and do thoſe things chiefly which may tend to his Glory. Hereupon have I choſen that kind of Life which is moſt free from the troubleſome Cares of this World, that I might attend the Service of God alone. From which, if either the tender'd Marriages of moſt potent Princes, or the Danger of Death intended againſt me, could have remov'd me, I had long ago enjoy'd the Honour of an Huſband. And theſe things have I thought upon when I was a private Perſon: But now that the publick Care of governing the Kingdom is laid upon me, to draw upon me alſo the Cares of Marriage, may ſeem a Point of inconſiderate Folly. Yea, to ſatisfy you, I have already join'd my ſelf in Marriage to an Husband, namely the Kingdom of *England:* And behold, ſaid ſhe,(*which I marvel ye have forgotten*) the Pledge of this my Wedlock and Marriage with my Kingdom! [*And therewith ſhe drew the Ring from her Finger, and ſhew'd it, wherewith at her Coronation ſhe had in a ſet Form of Words ſolemnly given her ſelf in Marriage to her Kingdom.*] Here having made a Pauſe, And do not (*ſaith ſhe*) upbraid me with miſerable lack of Children; for every one of you, and as many as are *Engliſhmen*, are Children and Kinſmen to me; of whom, if God deprive me not, (which God forbid) I cannot, with-

without Injury, be accounted barren. But I commend you, that ye have not appointed me an Husband; for that were moſt unworthy the Majeſty of an *abſolute Princeſs*, and unbeſeeming your Wiſdom, which are Subjects born. Nevertheleſs, if it pleaſe God that I enter into another Courſe of Life, I promiſe you I will do nothing which may be prejudicial to the Commonwealth; but will take ſuch an Husband, as near as may be, as will have as great a care of the Commonwealth, as my ſelf. But if I continue in this kind of Life I have begun, I doubt not but God will ſo direct mine own, and your Counſels, that ye ſhall not need to doubt of a Succeſſor which may be more beneficial to the Commonwealth, than he which may be born of me, conſidering that the Iſſue of the beſt Princes many times degenerateth. And to me it ſhall be a full Satisfaction, both for the Memorial of my Name, and for my Glory alſo, if when I ſhall let my laſt Breath, it be engraven upon my Marble Tomb, *Here lieth* ELIZABETH, *which reign'd a Virgin, and dy'd a Virgin.*

Queen Elizabeth's *Letter to King* Henry IV. *of* France, *upon his changing his Religion.* Memoirs, *p.* 12. *Ib. p.* 475.

ALAS! what deep Sorrow, what vehement Grief, what Sighs have I felt at

my Heart for the Things which *Morlante* hath told me of? Alas! is the World come to this paſs? Was it poſſible, that any worldly Matter ſhould make you quit the Fear of God? Can we expect any happy Iſſue of ſuch a Fact? Or could you think, that he who hath hitherto with his own right Hand upholden and preſerv'd you, would now forſake you? It's a very dangerous thing to do Evil, that Good may come of it; yet I hope a ſober Spirit will put you into a better Mind. In the mean time, I will not omit to make it a principal part of my Prayers, the recomending you to God, beſeeching him, that the Hands of *Eſau* may not looſe you the Bleſſing of *Jacob*. Whereas you do religiouſly and ſolemnly offer me your Friendſhip, I know to my great Coſt I have well deſerv'd it; neither ſhould I repent that, had you not chang'd your Father. Verily, from henceforth I cannot be your Siſter by the Father; for the truth is, I ſhall ever more dearly love and honour mine own Father, than a falſe and counterfeit one: Which God knoweth very well, who (I beſeech him) bring you back again to a better Mind. *Subſcrib'd*,

Your Siſter, if it be after the old manner; as for the new I have nothing to do with it.

Elizabeth *R.*

NUMB.

NUMB. V.

An Account of what was remarkable upon opening the Body of Prince Henry. Memoirs *p.* 21.

FIrſt, we found his Liver paler than ordinary, in certain places, ſomewhat wan, his Gall without any Choler in it, and diſtended with Wind. *Truth brought to Light, or the firſt* 14 *Years of King* James, *p.* 33.

Secondly, His Spleen was in divers places more than ordinarily black.

Thirdly, His Stomach was in no part offended.

Fourthly, His Midriff was in divers places black.

Fifthly, His Lungs were very black, and in divers places ſpotted, and full of a thin watry Blood.

Laſtly, the Veins in the hinder part of his Head, were fuller than ordinary, but the Ventricles and Hollowneſs of the Brain were full of clear Water.

In Witneſs whereof, with our own Hands we have ſubſcrib'd this preſent Relation, the ſeventh Day of November, 1612.

Mayerne, Palmer,
Atkins, Gifford,
Hammond, Butler.

NUMB. VI.

Memoirs, p. 55. Whitlock's *Memoirs, p.* 41. *Mr. Secretary* Vane's *Notes about the Earl of* Strafford's *Advice to King* Charles, *to bring over an Army from* Ireland, *to ſubdue* England.

Note, *This was the moſt dubious, and yet the moſt material Article againſt him, which contributed moſt to his Ruin.*

The Title of them was,

No Danger of a War with Scotland.
If Offenſive, not Defenſive.

K. *Charles.* HOW can we undertake offenſive War, if we have no more Money?

L. *Strafford.* Borrow of the City 100000*l.* Go on vigorouſly to levy Ship-Money. Your Majeſty having try'd the Affection of your People, you are abſolv'd and looſe from all Rule of Government, and to do what Power will admit. Your Majeſty having try'd all ways, and being refus'd, ſhall be acquitted before God and Man. And you have an Army in *Ireland* that you may employ to reduce this Kingdom to Obedience; for I am confident the *Scots* cannot hold out 5 Months.

ABp *Laud.* You have try'd all ways, and have always been deny'd: It is now lawful to take it by Force.

L. *Cottington.* Levies abroad there may be made for defence of the Kingdom. The lower Houſe are weary of the King and Church. All ways ſhall be juſt to raiſe Money by, in this inevitable Neceſſity, and are to be us'd, being lawful.

ABp *Laud.* For an offenſive, not a defenſive War.

L. *Strafford.* The Town is full of Lords: Put the Commiſſion of Array on foot; and if any of them ſtir, we will make them ſmart.

NUMB. VII.

The Theatrical Manner of Archbiſhop Laud's *conſecrating* Katherine Creed Church, *in* London.

Memoirs, *p.* 21. Ruſhworth, *Part* 2. *Vol.* 1. *Pag.* 77.

ST. *Katherine-Creed-Church* being lately repair'd, was ſuſpended from all Divine Service, Sermons, and Sacraments, till it were conſecrated. Wherefore Dr. *Laud*, Lord Biſhop of *London*, on the 16th of *January*, being the Lord's Day, came thither in the Morning to conſecrate the ſame: Now becauſe great Exceptions were taken at the Formality thereof, we will briefly relate the manner of the Conſecration.

At the Biſhop's approach to the Weſt-Door of the Church, ſome that were prepar'd

par'd for it, cry'd with a loud Voice, *Open, open ye everlasting Doors, that the King of Glory may enter in.* And presently the Doors were open'd; and the Bishop, with some Doctors, and many other Principal Men, went in, and immediately falling down upon his Knees, with his Eyes lifted up, and his Arms spread abroad, utter'd these Words: *This Place is Holy, this Ground is Holy: In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it Holy.*

Then he took up some of the Dust, and threw it up into the Air several times in his going up towards the *Chancel.* When they approach'd near to the Rail, and *Communion-Table*, the Bishop bow'd towards it several times, and returning, they went round the Church in Procession, saying the hundredth Psalm, after that the nineteenth Psalm, and then said a Form of a Prayer, *Lord Jesus Christ*, &c. and concluding, *We consecrate this Church, and separate it unto thee, as holy Ground, not to be profan'd any more to common Use.*

After this, the Bishop being near the *Communion-Table*, and taking a written Book in his Hand, pronounc'd Curses upon those that should afterwards profane that Holy Place, by Musters of Soldiers, or keeping profane Law-Courts, or carrying Burdens through it; and at the End of every Curse, he bow'd towards the *East*, and said, *Let all the People say*, Amen.

When

When the Curſes were ended, he pronounc'd a number of Bleſſings upon all thoſe that had any hand in framing and building of that ſacred and beautiful Church, and thoſe that had given, and ſhould hereafter give any Chalices, Plate, Ornaments, or Utenſils: And at the end of every Bleſſing, he bow'd toward the *Eaſt*, ſaying, *Let all the People ſay*, Amen.

After this follow'd the Sermon; which being ended, the Biſhop conſecrated and adminiſter'd the Sacrament, in manner following.

As he approach'd the *Communion-Table* he made many ſeveral lowly Bowings; and coming up to the ſide of the Table, where the Bread and Wine were cover'd, he bow'd ſeven times: and then after the reading of many Prayers, he came near the Bread, and gently lifted up the Corner of the Napkin wherein the Bread was laid; and when he beheld the Bread, he laid it down again, flew back a Step or two, bow'd three ſeveral times towards it; then he drew near again, and open'd the Napkin, and bow'd as before.

Then he laid his Hand on the Cup, which was full of Wine, with a Cover upon it, which he let go again, went back, and bow'd thrice towards it: then he came near again; and lifting up the Cover of the Cup, look'd into it, and ſeeing the Wine, he let fall the Cover again, retir'd back, and bowd

bow'd as before; then he receiv'd the Sacrament, and gave it to ſome principal Men: after which, many Prayers being ſaid, the Solemnity of the Conſecration ended.

NUMB. VIII.

Memoirs, *p.* 59.

The Order of Council againſt Archibald, *the King's Fool, for affronting Archbiſhop* Laud.

Ruſhworth, *Part.*2. *Vol.*1. *Pag.* 471.

IT is this Day order'd by his Majeſty, with the Advice of the Board, That *Archibald Armſtrong* the King's Fool, for certain ſcandalous Words of a high Nature, ſpoken by him againſt the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* his Grace, and prov'd to be utter'd by him by two Witneſſes, ſhall have his Coat pull'd over his Head, and be diſcharg'd of the King's Service and baniſh'd the Court; for which the Lord Chamberlain of the King's Houſhold is pray'd and requir'd to give Order to be executed. *And immediately the ſame was put in Execution.*

NUMB.

NUMB. IX.

The Petition of the Houſe of Commons, and their Remonſtrance of the State of the Nation, preſented to King Charles I. *at his Return from* Scotland *in* 1641.

Memoirs *p.* 68. Huſband's *Collect. in* 4*to. from p.* 1, *to p.* 29.

Together with the King's Anſwer, and the Declaration he afterwards publiſhed to the ſame purpoſe.

Note, That the Matters contained in theſe four Papers, were the Grounds of the Civil War, and afterwards came to be decided by the Sword.

The Petition of the Houſe of Commons, which accompany'd the Declaration of the State of the Kingdom, when it was preſented to his Majeſty at Hampton-Court.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majeſty's moſt humble and faithful Subjects, the Commoners in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, do with much Thankfulneſs and Joy acknowledge the great Mercy and Favour of God, in giving your Majeſty a ſafe and peaceable Return out of *Scotland* into your Kingdom of *England*; where the preſſing Dangers and Diſtempers of the State, have caus'd us with much earneſtneſs to deſire the Comfort of your gracious Preſence, and likewiſe the Unity

nity and Juſtice of your Royal Authority, to give more Life and Power to the dutiful and loyal Counſels and Endeavours of your Parliament, for the Prevention of that eminent Ruin and Deſtruction wherein your Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* are threaten'd. The Duty which we owe to your Majeſty, and our Country, cannot but make us very ſenſible and apprehenſive, that the Multiplicity, Sharpneſs, and Malignity of thoſe Evils under which we have now many Years ſuffer'd, are fomented and cheriſh'd by a corrupt and ill-affected Party; who amongſt other their miſchievous Devices for the Alteration of Religion and Government, have thought by many falſe Scandals and Imputations, cunningly inſinuated, and diſperſed amongſt the People, to blemiſh and diſgrace our Proceedings in this Parliament, and to get themſelves a Party and Faction amongſt your Subjects, for the better ſtrengthening of themſelves in their wicked Courſes, and hindering thoſe Proviſions and Remedies, which might, by the Wiſdom of your Majeſty, and Counſel of your Parliament, be oppos'd againſt them.

For preventing whereof, and the better Information of your Majeſty, your Peers, and all other your loyal Subjects, we have been neceſſitated to make a Declaration of the State of the Kingdom, both before and ſince the Aſſembly of this Parliament un-

to this time; which we do humbly preſent to your Majeſty, without the leaſt Intention to lay any Blemiſh upon your Royal Perſon, but only to repreſent how your Royal Authority and Truſt have been abus'd, to the great Prejudice and Danger of your Majeſty, and of all your good Subjects.

And becauſe we have reaſon to believe that thoſe malignant Parties, whoſe Proceedings evidently appear to be mainly for the Advantage and Increaſe of Popery, is compos'd, ſet up, and acted by the ſubtle Practice of the Jeſuits, and other Engineers and Factors for *Rome*; and of the great Danger of this Kingdom, and moſt grievous Affliction of your loyal Subjects, have ſo far prevail'd, as to corrupt divers of your Biſhops, and others in prime Places of the Church, and alſo bring divers of theſe Inſtruments to be of your Privy-Council, and other Employments of Truſt and Nearneſs about your Majeſty, the Prince, and the reſt of your Royal Children.

And by this means hath had ſuch an Operation in your Council, and moſt important Affairs and Proceedings of your Government, that a moſt dangerous Diviſion, and chargeable Preparation for War betwixt your Kingdom of *England* and *Scotland*, the Increaſe of Jealouſies betwixt your Majeſty and your moſt obedient Subjects, the violent Diſtraction and Interruption of this Parliament,

ment, the Inſtruction of the Papiſts in your Kingdom of *Ireland*, and bloody Maſſacre of your People, have been not only endeavour'd and attempted, but in a great meaſure compaſs'd and effected.

For preventing the final Accompliſhment whereof, your poor Subjects are forc'd to engage their Perſons and Eſtates to the maintaining of a very expenceful and dangerous War, notwithſtanding they have already, ſince the beginning of the Parliament, undergone the Charge of 150000 *l.* Sterling, or thereabouts, for the neceſſary Support and Supply of your Majeſty in theſe preſent and perillous Deſigns. And becauſe all our moſt faithful Endeavours and Engagements will be ineffectual for the Peace, Safety, and Preſervation of your Majeſty and your People, if ſome preſent, real, and effectual Courſe be not taken for ſuppreſſing this wicked and malignant Party;

We your moſt humble and obedient Subjects, do with all Faithfulneſs and Humility beſeech your Majeſty,

1. That you will be graciouſly pleas'd to concur with the humble Deſires of your People, in a Parliamentary way, for the preſerving the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom from the malicious Deſigns of the Popiſh Party.

For depriving the Biſhops of their Votes in Parliament, and abridging their immoderate Power uſurp'd over the Clergy, and

and other your good Subjects; which they have moſt perniciouſly abus'd, to the Hazard of Religion, and great Prejudice and Oppreſſion of the Laws of the Kingdom, and juſt Liberty of your People.

For the taking away ſuch Oppreſſions in Religion, Church-Government, and Diſcipline, as have been brought in, and fomented by them.

For uniting all ſuch your loyal Subjects together, as join in the ſame fundamental Truths againſt the Papiſts, by removing ſome Oppreſſions and unneceſſary Ceremonies, by which divers weak Conſciences have been ſcrupled, and ſeem to be divided from the reſt: For the due Execution of thoſe good Laws which have been made for ſecuring the Liberty of your Subjects.

2. That your Majeſty will likewiſe be pleas'd to remove from your Council all ſuch as perſiſt to favour and promote any of thoſe Preſſures and Corruptions wherewith your People have been griev'd; and that for the future your Majeſty will vouchſafe to employ ſuch Perſons in your great and publick Affairs, and to take ſuch as be near you in place of Truſt, as your Parliament may have cauſe to confide in; that in your Princely Goodneſs to your People, you will reject and refuſe all Mediation and Sollicitation to the contrary, how powerful and near ſoever.

3. That you would be pleas'd to forbear to alienate any of the forfeited and eſcheated Lands in *Ireland*, which ſhall accrue to your Crown by reaſon of this Rebellion, that out of them the Crown may be the better ſupported, and ſome Satisfaction made to your Subjects of this Kingdom, for the great Expences they are like to undergo this War.

Which humble Deſires of ours being graciouſly fulfill'd by your Majeſty, we will, by the Bleſſing and Favour of God, moſt chearfully undergo the Hazard and Expences of this War, and apply our ſelves to ſuch other Courſes and Counſels, as may ſupport your Royal Eſtate with Honour and Plenty at home, with Power and Reputation abroad; and by our loyal Affections, Obedience, and Service, lay a ſure and laſting Foundation of the Greatneſs and Proſperity of your Majeſty, and your Royal Poſterity in future Times.

A Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdom.

Die Mercurii, 15 Decem. 1642.

THE Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, having with much Earneſtneſs, and Faithfulneſs of Affection and Zeal to the publick Good of this Kingdom, and his Majeſty's Honour and Service, for

for the ſpace of twelve Months, wreſtled with the great Dangers and Fears, the preſſing Miſeries and Calamities, the various Diſtempers and Diſorders, which had not only aſſaulted, but even overwhelm'd and extinguiſh'd the Liberty, Peace, and Proſperity of this Kingdom, the Comfort and Hopes of all his Majeſty's Good Subjects, and exceedingly weakened and undermined the Foundation and Strength of his own Royal Throne; do yet find an abounding Malignity of Oppreſſion in thoſe Parties and Factions, who have been the Cauſe of thoſe Evils, and do ſtill labour to caſt Aſperſions upon that which hath been done, and to raiſe many Difficulties for the hindrance of that which remains yet undone, and to foment Jealouſies betwixt the King and the Parliament, that ſo they may deprive him and his People of the Fruit of his own gracious Intentions, and their humble Deſires of procuring the publick Peace, Safety, and Happineſs of this Realm. For the preventing of thoſe miſerable Effects, which ſuch malicious Endeavours may produce, we have thought good to declare,

1. *The Root and Growth of theſe miſchievous Deſigns.*

2. *The Maturity and Ripeneſs to which they have attain'd before the beginning of the Parliament.*

3. *The effectual means which hath been us'd for the Extirpation of thoſe dangerous Evils, and*

the Progreſs which hath herein been made by his Majeſty's Goodneſs, and the Wiſdom of the Parliament.

4. *The ways of Obſtruction and Oppoſition by which that Progreſs hath been interrupted.*

5. *The Courſe to be taken for removing thoſe Obſtacles, and for the accompliſhing of our moſt dutiful and faithful Intentions and Endeavours of reſtoring and eſtabliſhing the antient Honour, Greatneſs, and Security of this Crown and Nation. The Root of this Miſchief, we find to be a malignant and pernicious Deſign of ſubverting the fundamental Laws and Principles of Government, upon which the Religion and Juſtice of this Kingdom are firmly eſtabliſh'd. The Actors and Promoters hereof have been,*

1. *The Jeſuited Prieſts, who hate the Laws, as the Obſtacles of that Change and Submiſſion of Religion which they ſo much long for.*

2. *The Biſhops, and the corrupt Part of the Clergy, who cheriſh Formality and Superſtition, as the natural Effects, and more probable Supports of their own Eccleſiaſtical Tyranny and Uſurpation.*

3. *Such Counſellors and Courtiers, as for private Ends have engag'd themſelves to further the Intereſts of ſome foreign Princes or States, to the Prejudice of his Majeſty, and the State at home.*

The common Principles, by which they moulded and govern'd all their particular Counſels and Actions, were theſe:

Firſt,

First, To maintain continual Differences and Diſcontents betwixt the King and the People, upon Queſtions of Prerogative and Liberty; that ſo they might have the Advantage of ſiding with him, and under the Notions of Men addicted to his Service, gain to themſelves, and their Parties, the Places of greateſt Truſt and Power in the Kingdom.

A ſecond, To ſuppreſs the Purity and Power of Religion, and ſuch as were beſt affected to it, as being contrary to their own Ends, and the greateſt Impediment to that Change which they thought to introduce.

A third, To conjoin thoſe Parties of the Kingdom which were moſt propitious to their own Ends, and to divide thoſe who were moſt oppoſite, which conſiſted in many particular Obſervations; to cheriſh the Arminian *Part in thoſe Points, wherein they agree with the Papiſts; to multiply and enlarge the Difference between the common Proteſtants and thoſe whom they call Puritans; to introduce and countenance ſuch Opinions and Ceremonies, as are fitteſt for Accommodation with Popery; to increaſe and maintain Ignorance, Looſeneſs, and Profaneneſs in the People; that of thoſe three Parties,* Papiſts, Arminians *and* Libertines, *they might compoſe a Body fit to act ſuch Counſels and Reſolutions, as were moſt conducible to their own Ends.*

A fourth, To diſaffect the King to Parliaments, by Slanders and falſe Imputations, and by putting him upon other ways of Supply, which in Shew

and Appearance were fuller of Advantage, than the ordinary Courſe of Subſidies, tho' in truth they brought more Loſs than Gain both to the King and People, and have caus'd the Diſtractions under which we both ſuffer.

As in all compounded Bodies, the Operations are qualify'd according to the predominant Element, ſo in the mixt Party, the Jeſuited Counſels being moſt active and prevailing, may eaſily be diſcover'd to have had the greateſt ſway in all their Determinations; and if they be not prevented, are like to devour the reſt, or to turn them into their own Nature.

In the beginning of his Majeſty's Reign, the Party begun to revive and flouriſh again, having been ſomewhat dampt by the Breach with *Spain* in the laſt Year of King *James*, and by his Majeſty's Marriage with *France*; the Intereſts and Counſels of that State, being not ſo contrary to the Good of Religion, and the Proſperity of this Kingdom, as thoſe of *Spain*; and the Papiſts of *England* having been ever more addicted to *Spain* than *France*; yet they ſtill retain'd a Purpoſe and Reſolution to weaken the Proteſtant Parties in all Parts, and even in *France*, whereby to make way for the Change of Religion which they intended at home.

The firſt Effect and Evidence of their Recovery and Strength, was the Diſſolution of the Parliament at *Oxford*, after there had been given two Subſidies to his Majeſty; and before

fore they receiv'd Relief in any one Grievance, many other more miſerable Effects follow'd.

The Loſs of the *Rochel* Fleet, by the help of our Shipping, ſet forth and deliver'd over to the *French*, in oppoſition to the Advice of Parliament, which left that Town without Defence by Sea, and made way not only to the Loſs of that important Place, but likewiſe to the Loſs of all the Strength and Security of the Proteſtant Religion in *France*.

The diverting of his Majeſty's Courſe of Wars from the *Weſt-Indies*, which was the moſt facile and hopeful way for this Kingdom to prevail againſt the *Spaniard*, to an expenceful and ſucceſleſs Attempt upon *Cales*; which was ſo order'd, as if it had rather been intended to make us weary of War, than to proſper in it.

The precipitate Breach with *France*, by taking their Ships to a great Value, without making recompence to the *Engliſh*, whoſe Goods were thereupon imbarr'd and confiſcated in that Kingdom.

The Peace with *Spain*, without Conſent of Parliament, contrary to the Promiſe of King *James* to both Houſes, whereby the *Palatine* Cauſe was deſerted, and left to chargeable and hopeleſs Treaties; which, for the moſt part, were manag'd by thoſe who might juſtly be ſuſpected to be no Friends to that Cauſe.

The charging of the Kingdom with billetted Soldiers in all Parts of it, and that concomitant Deſign of *German* Horſe, that the Land might either ſubmit with Fear, or be enforc'd with Rigor to ſuch arbitrary Contributions as ſhould be required of them.

The diſſolving of the Parliament in the ſecond Year of his Majeſty's Reign, after a Declaration of their Intent to grant five Subſidies.

The exacting of the like Proportion of five Subſidies after the Parliament diſſolv'd, by Commiſſion of Loan; and divers Gentlemen and others impriſon'd for not yielding to pay that Loan, whereby many of them contracted ſuch Sickneſſes as coſt them their Lives. Great Sums of Money requir'd and rais'd by Privy Seals. An unjuſt and pernicious Attempt to extort great Payments from the Subject, by way of Exciſe; and a Commiſſion iſſued under Seal to that purpoſe. The Petition of Right, which was granted in full Parliament, blaſted with an illegal Declaration, to make it deſtructive to it ſelf, to the Power of Parliament, to the Liberty of the Subject, and to that purpoſe printed with it; and the Petition made of no uſe, but to ſhew the bold and preſumptuous Injuſtice of ſuch Miniſters as durſt break the Laws, and ſuppreſs the Liberties of the Kingdom, after they had been ſo ſolemnly and evidently declar'd.

Ano-

Another Parliament diſſolv'd 4 *Car.* The Privilege of Parliament broken by impriſoning divers Members of the Houſe, detaining them cloſe Priſoners for many Months together, without the Liberty of uſing Books, Pen, Ink, or Paper; denying them all the Comforts of Life, all means of Preſervation of Health; not permitting their Wives to come unto them, even in time of their Sickneſs. And for the compleating of that Cruelty, after Years ſpent in ſuch miſerable Durance, depriving them of the neceſſary means of ſpiritual Conſolation, not ſuffering them to go abroad to enjoy God's Ordinances in God's Houſe, or God's Miniſters to come to them, to adminiſter Comfort unto them in their private Chambers: and to keep them ſtill in this oppreſſed Condition, not admitting them to be bail'd according to Law, yet vexing them with Informations in inferior Courts, ſentencing and fining ſome of them for Matters done in Parliament, and extorting the Payments of thoſe Fines from them; enforcing others to put in Security of good Behaviour, before they could be releas'd.

The Impriſonment of the reſt which refus'd to be bound, ſtill continu'd; which might have been perpetual, if Neceſſity had not the laſt Year brought another Parliament to relieve them; of whom one dy'd, by the Cruelty and Harſhneſs of his Impriſonment, which would admit of no Relaxa-

tion, notwithſtanding the imminent Danger of this Life, did ſufficiently appear by the Declaration of his Phyſician: And his Releaſe, or at leaſt his Refreſhment, was ſought by many humble Petitions; and his Blood ſtill cries either for Vengeance, or Repentance of thoſe Miniſters of State, who at once obſtructed the Courſe both of his Majeſty's Juſtice and Mercy.

Upon the Diſſolution of both theſe Parliaments, untrue and ſcandalous Declarations publiſhed, to aſperſe their Proceedings, and ſome of their Members, unjuſtly; to make them odious, and colour the Violence which was us'd againſt them. Proclamations ſet out to the ſame Purpoſe; and to the great dejecting of the Hearts of the People, forbidding them even to ſpeak of Parliaments.

After the Breach of Parliament, in the fourth Year of his Majeſty, Injuſtice, Oppreſſion, and Violence broke in upon us, without any Reſtraint or Moderation; and yet the firſt Project was the great Sums exacted through the whole Kingdom, for default of Knighthood, which ſeem'd to have ſome Colour and Shadow of a Law; yet if it be rightly examin'd by that obſolete Law, which was pretended for it, it would be found to be againſt all the Rules of Juſtice, both in reſpect of the Perſons charg'd, the Proportion of the Fines demanded, and the abſurd and unreaſonable manner of their Proceed-

Proceedings. Tunnage and Poundage hath been receiv'd without Colour or Pretence of Law; many other heavy Impoſitions contínu'd againſt Law; and ſome ſo unreaſonable, that the Sum of the Charge exceeds the Value of the Goods. The Book of Rates lately inhaunc'd to a high Proportion, and ſuch Merchants as would not ſubmit to their illegal and unreaſonable Payments, were vex'd and oppreſs'd above meaſure; and the ordinary Courſe of Juſtice, the common Birth-right of the Subject of *England*, wholly obſtructed unto them. And although all this was taken upon pretence of guarding the Sea, yet a new and unheard-of Tax of Ship-money was devis'd, upon the ſame Pretence. By both which, there was charg'd upon the Subject near 700000*l.* ſome Years; and yet the Merchants have been left ſo naked to the Violence of the *Turkiſh* Pirates, that many great Ships of Value, and thouſands of his Majeſty's Subjects, have been taken by them, and do ſtill remain in miſerable Slavery.

The Enlargement of Foreſts, contrary to *Charta de Foreſta*, and the Compoſition thereupon; the Exactions of Coat and Conduct-Money, and divers other Military Charges; the taking away the Arms of the Train'd-Bands of divers Counties; the deſperate Deſign of engroſſing all the Gun-powder into one hand, keeping it in the Tower of *London*, and ſetting ſo high a Rate upon it, that the poorer

er ſort were not able to buy it; nor could any have it without Licence, thereby to leave the ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom deſtitute of their neceſſary Defence; and by ſelling ſo dear that which was ſold, to make an unlawful Advantage of it, to the great Charge and Detriment of the Subject: The general Deſtruction of the King's Timber, eſpecially that in the Foreſt of *Dean*, ſold to Papiſts, which was the beſt Store-houſe of this Kingdom, for the Maintenance of our Shipping: the taking away of Mens Right, under colour of the King's Title to Land between high and low Water-Marks; the Monopolies of Soap, Salt, Wine, Leather, Sea-Coal, and in a manner, of all Things of moſt common and neceſſary Uſe; the Reſtraint of the Liberties of the Subjects in their Habitation, Trades, and other Intereſt; their Vexation and Oppreſſion by Purveyors, Clerks of the Market, and Salt-Peter-Men; the Sale of pretended Nuſances, as Buildings in and about *London*, Converſion of Arable into Paſture, continuance of Paſture, under the Name of Depopulation; have drawn many Millions out of the Subjects Purſes, without any conſiderable Profit to his Majeſty. Large Quantities of Common, and ſeveral Grounds, have been taken from the Subject, by colour of the Statute of Improvement, and by Abuſe of the Commiſſion of Sewers, without their Conſent, and againſt it. And not only private

vate Intereſt, but alſo publick Faith have been broken, in ſeizing of the Money and Bullion in the Mint; and the whole Kingdom like to be robb'd at once, in that abominable Project of Braſs-Money. Great Numbers of his Majeſty's Subjects, for refuſing thoſe unlawful Charges, have been vex'd with long and expenſive Suits; ſome fin'd and cenſur'd, others committed to long and hard Impriſonments and Confinements, to the loſs of Health of many, of Life in ſome, and others have had their Houſes broken up, their Goods ſeiz'd; ſome have been reſtrain'd from their lawful Callings; Ships have been interrupted in their Voyages, ſurpriz'd at Sea in a hoſtile manner by Projectors, as by a common Enemy; Merchants prohibited to unlade their Goods in ſuch Ports as were for their own Advantage, and forc'd to bring them to thoſe Places which were moſt for the Advantages of the Monopolizers and Projectors. The Court of Star-Chamber hath abounded in extravagant Cenſures, not only for the Maintenance and Improvement of Monopolies, and other unlawful Taxes, but for divers other Cauſes, where there had been no Offence, or very ſmall; whereby his Majeſty's Subjects have been oppreſs'd by grievous Fines, Impriſonments, Stigmatizings, Mutilations, Whippings, Pillories, Gags, Confinements, Baniſhments, after ſo rigid a manner, as hath not only depriv'd Men of the Society of

their

their Friends, Exerciſe of their Profeſſions, Comfort of Books, Uſe of Paper or Ink; but even violated that near Union which God hath eſtabliſh'd betwixt Men and their Wives, by forc'd and conſtrain'd Separation, whereby they have been bereav'd of the Comfort and Converſation one of another for many Years together, without hope of Relief, if God had not, by his over-ruling Providence, given ſome Interruption to the prevailing Power and Counſel of thoſe who were the Authors and Promoters of ſuch peremptory and heady Courſes.

Judges have been put out of their Places, for refuſing to do againſt their Oaths and Conſciences. Others have been ſo aw'd, that they durſt not do their Duties; and the better to hold a Rod over them, the Clauſe *Quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint* was left out of their Patents, and a new Clauſe, *Durante bene placito*, inſerted. Lawyers have been check'd for being faithful to their Clients; Sollicitors and Attornies have been threaten'd, and ſome puniſh'd, for following lawful Suits. And by this means all the Approaches to Juſtice were interrupted and forecluded. New Oaths have been forc'd upon the Subject againſt Law; new Judicatories erected without Law. The Council-Table have, by their Orders, offer'd to bind the Subjects in their Freeholds, Eſtates, Suits, and Actions. The pretended Court of the Earl-Marſhal was arbitrary and illegal in its Being and

Proceedings. The Chancery, Exchequer-Chamber, Court of Wards, and other *Engliſh* Courts, have been grievous in exceeding their Juriſdiction. The Eſtate of many Families weaken'd, and ſome ruin'd, by exceſſive Fines, exacted from them for Compoſition of Wardſhips. All Leaſes of above an hundred Years, made to draw on Wardſhip contrary to Law. Undue Proceedings us'd in the finding of Offices, to make the Jury find for the King. The Common-Law Courts, ſeeing all Men more inclin'd to ſeek Juſtice there, where it may be fitted to their own Deſire, are known frequently to forſake the Rules of the Common-Law, and ſtraining beyond their Bounds, under pretence of Equity to do Injuſtice. Titles of Honour, judicial Places, Serjeantſhips at Law, and other Offices, have been ſold for great Sums of Money, whereby the common Juſtice of the Kingdom hath been much endanger'd, not only by opening a way of Employment in Places of great Truſt and Advantage to Men of weak Parts; but alſo by giving Occaſion to Bribery, Extortion, Partiality; it ſeldom happening, that Places ill-gotten, are well us'd. Commiſſions have been granted for examining the Exceſs of Fees; and when great Exactions have been diſcover'd, Compoſitions have been made with Delinquents, not only for the time paſt, but likewiſe for Immunity and Security in offending for the time to come; which, under co-

colour of Remedy, hath but confirm'd and increas'd the Grievance to the Subject. The uſual courſe of pricking Sheriffs not obſerv'd, but many times Sheriffs made in an extraordinary way, ſometimes as a Puniſhment and Charge unto them, ſometimes ſuch were prick'd out, as would be Inſtruments to execute whatſoever they would have to be done.

The Biſhops, and the reſt of the Clergy, did triumph in the Suſpenſions, Excommunications, Deprivations, and Degradations of divers painful, learned, and pious Miniſters, in the Vexation and grievous Oppreſſion of great Numbers of his Majeſty's good Subjects. The High Commiſſion grew to ſuch exceſs of Sharpneſs and Severity, as was not much leſs than the Romiſh Inquiſition: and yet in many caſes, by the Archbiſhop's Power, was made much more heavy, being aſſiſted and ſtrengthen'd by Authority of the Council-Table.

The Biſhops and their Courts were as eager in the Country; and altho' their Juriſdiction could not reach ſo high in Rigour and Extremity of Puniſhment, yet were they no leſs grievous in reſpect of the Generality and Multiplicity of Vexations; which lighting upon the meaner ſort of Tradeſmen and Artificers, did impoveriſh many thouſands, and ſo afflict and trouble others, that great numbers, to avoid their Miſeries, departed out of the Kingdom; ſome into

into *New-England*, and other Parts of *America*, others into *Holland*, where they have tranſported their Manufactures of Cloth: which is not only a Loſs, by diminiſhing the preſent Stock of the Kingdom, but a great Miſchief, by impairing and endangering the Loſs of that peculiar Trade of Clothing, which hath been a plentiful Fountain of Wealth and Honour to this Nation. Thoſe were fitteſt for Eccleſiaſtical Preferment, and ſooneſt obtain'd it, who were moſt officious in promoting Superſtition, moſt virulent in railing againſt Godlineſs and Honeſty.

The moſt publick and ſolemn Sermons before his Majeſty, were either to advance Prerogative above Law, and decry the Property of the Subject; or full of ſuch kind of Invectives, whereby they might make thoſe odious, who ſought to maintain the Religion, Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom; and ſuch Men were ſure to be weeded out of the Commiſſion of the Peace, and out of all other Employments of Power in the Government of the Country. Many noble Perſonages were Counſellors in Name, but the Power and Authority remain'd in a few of ſuch as were addicted to this Party; whoſe Reſolutions and Determinations were brought to the Table for Countenance and Execution, and not for Debate and Deliberation; and no Man could offer to oppoſe them, without Diſgrace and Hazard

zard to himſelf, Nay, all thoſe that did not wholly concur, and actually contribute to the furtherance of their Deſigns, tho' otherwiſe Perſons of never ſo great Honour and Abilities, were ſo far from being employ'd in any Place of Truſt and Power, that they were neglected, diſcountenanc'd, and upon all occaſions injur'd and oppreſs'd. This Faction was grown to that height and entireneſs of Power, that now they began to think of finiſhing their Work, which conſiſted of theſe three Parts.

1. *The Government muſt be ſet free from all Reſtraint of Laws concerning our Perſons and States.*

2. *There muſt be a Conjunction betwixt Papiſts and Proteſtants in Doctrine, Diſcipline, and Ceremonies; only it muſt not yet be called Popery.*

3. *The* Puritans, *under which Name they include all thoſe that deſire to preſerve the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, and to maintain Religion in the Power of it, muſt be either rooted out of the Kingdom with force, or driven out with fear. For the effecting of this, it was thought neceſſary to reduce* Scotland *to ſuch Popiſh Superſtitions and Innovations, as might make them apt to join with* England, *in the great Change which was intended. Whereupon new Canons and a new Liturgy were preſs'd upon them; and when they refus'd to admit of them, an Army was rais'd to force them to it; towards which, the Clergy and the Papiſts were very forward*

ward in their Contribution. The Scots *likewiſe rais'd an Army for their Defence: And when both Armies were come together, and ready for a bloody Encounter, his Majeſty's own gracious Diſpoſition, and the Counſel of the* Engliſh *Nobility, and dutiful Submiſſion of the* Scots, *did ſo far prevail againſt the evil Counſel of others, that a Pacification was made, and his Majeſty return'd with Peace and much Honour to* London.

The unexpected Reconciliation was moſt acceptable to all the Kingdom, except to the malignant Party, whereof the Archbiſhop, and the Earl of *Strafford* being Heads, they and their Faction begun to inveigh againſt the Peace, and to aggravate the Proceedings of the States; which ſo incens'd his Majeſty, that he forthwith prepared again for War. And ſuch was their Confidence, that having corrupted and diſtempered the whole Frame and Government of the Kingdom, they did now hope to corrupt that which was the only Means to reſtore all to a right Frame and Temper again; to which end, they perſuaded his Majeſty to call a Parliament, not to ſeek Counſel and Advice of them, but to draw Countenance and Supply from them, and engage the whole Kingdom in their Quarrel: and, in the mean time, continued all their unjuſt Levies of Money; reſolving either to make the Parliament pliant to their Will, and to eſtabliſh Miſchief by a Law, or elſe to break

break it. And with more Colour to go on by Violence to take what they could not obtain by Conſent, that the Ground alledg'd for the Juſtification of this War, was this:

That the undutiful Demands of the Parliament of *Scotland*, was a ſufficient Reaſon for his Majeſty to take Arms againſt them, without hearing the Reaſon of thoſe Demands. And thereupon a new Army was prepar'd againſt them; their Ships were ſeiz'd in all Ports both of *England* and *Ireland*, and at Sea; their Petitioners rejected, their Commiſſioners refus'd Audience. This whole Kingdom moſt miſerably diſtemper'd with Levies of Men and Money, and impriſonments of thoſe who deny'd to ſubmit to thoſe Levies. The Earl of *Strafford* paſs'd into *Ireland*, caus'd the Parliament there to declare againſt the *Scots*; to give four Subſidies towards that War, and to engage themſelves, their Lives and Fortunes, for the Proſecution of it; and gave Directions for an Army of 8000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe, to be levy'd there, which were for the moſt part Papiſts. The Parliament met upon the 13th of *April*, 1640. The Earl of *Strafford*, and Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, with their Party, ſo prevail'd with his Majeſty, that the Houſe of Commons was preſs'd to yield to a Supply for Maintenance of the War with *Scotland*, before they had provided any Relief for the great and preſſing Grievances of the People; which being againſt the

fundamental Privilege and Proceedings of Parliament, was yet in humble Reſpect to his Majeſty, ſo far admitted, as that they agreed to take the matter of Supply into Conſideration; and two ſeveral Days it was debated. Twelve Subſidies were demanded for the Releaſe of Ship-Money alone; a third Day was appointed for Concluſion, when the Head of that Party begun to fear the People might cloſe with the King in ſatisfying his Deſire of Money; but that withal, they were like to blaſt their malicious Deſigns againſt *Scotland*, finding them very much indiſpoſed to give any Countenance to that War.

Thereupon, they wickedly advis'd the King to break off the Parliament, and to return to the ways of Confuſion, in which their own evil Intentions were moſt like to proſper and ſucceed.

After the Parliament ended, the fifth of *May*, 1640, this Party grew ſo bold, as to counſel the King to ſupply himſelf out of his Subjects Eſtates by his own Power, at his own Will, without their Conſent. The very next Day, ſome Members of both Houſes had their Studies, and Cabinets, yea, their Pockets ſearch'd. Another of them, not long after, was committed cloſe Priſoner, for not delivering ſome Petitions which he receiv'd by Authority of that Houſe: And if harſher Courſes were intended, (as was reported) it is very probable that the Sickneſs

neſs of the Earl of *Strafford*, and the tumultuous Riſing in *Southwark*, and about *Lambeth*, were the Cauſe that ſuch violent Intentions were not brought to execution. A falſe and ſcandalous Declaration againſt the Houſe of Commons was publiſh'd in his Majeſty's Name, which yet wrought little effect with the People, but only to manifeſt the Impudence of thoſe who were Authors of it.

A forc'd Loan of Money was attempted in the City of *London*.

The Lord Mayor and Aldermen, in their ſeveral Wards, enjoin'd to bring in a Liſt of the Names of ſuch Perſons as they judg'd fit to lend, and of the Sums they ſhould lend. And ſuch Aldermen as refus'd ſo to do, were committed to Priſon.

The Archbiſhop, and the other Biſhops, and Clergy, continu'd the Convocation, and by a new Commiſſion, turn'd it to a Provincial Synod; in which, by an unheard of Preſumption, they made Canons that contain in them many Matters contrary to the King's Prerogative, to the fundamental Laws and Statutes of the Realm, to the Right of Parliaments, to the Property and Liberty of the Subjects, and Matters tending to Sedition, and dangerous Conſequence; thereby eſtabliſhing their own Uſurpations, juſtifying their Altar-Worſhip, and thoſe other ſuperſtitious Innovations, which they for-

formerly introduc'd, without Warrant of Law.

They impos'd a new Oath upon divers of his Majeſty's Subjects, both Eccleſiaſtical and Lay, for Maintenance of their own Tyranny: and laid a great Tax upon the Clergy for Supply of his Majeſty: and generally they ſhew'd themſelves very affectionate to the War with *Scotland*, which was by ſome of them ſtil'd *Bellum Epiſcopale*; and a Prayer compos'd, and enjoin'd to be read in all Churches, calling the *Scots* Rebels, to put the two Nations into Blood, and make them irreconcilable. All thoſe pretended Canons and Conſtitutions were arm'd with the ſeveral Cenſures of Suſpenſion, Excommunication, Deprivation, by which they would have thruſt out all the good Miniſters, and moſt of the well-affected People of the Kingdom, and left an eaſy Paſſage to their own Deſign of Reconciliation with *Rome*. The Popiſh Party enjoy'd ſuch Exemptions from the Penal Laws, as amounted to a Toleration, beſides many other Encouragements, and Court-Favours. They had a Secretary of State, Sir *Francis Windebank*, a powerful Agent for the ſpeeding of all their Deſires; a Pope's Nuncio reſiding here to act and govern them according to ſuch Influences as he receiv'd from *Rome*, and to intercede for them with the moſt powerful Concurrence of the foreign Princes of that Religion. By his Authority the Papiſts of all Sorts, Nobility, Gentry,

and Clergy, were convocated after the manner of a Parliament; new Juriſdictions were erected of Romiſh ABps; Taxes levy'd, another State moulded within this State, independent in Government, contrary in Intereſt and Affection, ſecretly corrupting the ignorant or negligent Profeſſors of our Religion, and cloſely uniting and combining themſelves againſt ſuch as were found; in this Poſture waiting for an Opportunity by Force to deſtroy thoſe whom they could not hope to ſeduce. For the effecting whereof, they were ſtrengthen'd with Arms and Munition, encourag'd with ſuperſtitious Prayers, enjoin'd by the Nuncio to be weekly made, for the Proſperity of ſome great Deſign. And ſuch Power had they at Court, that ſecretly a Commiſſion was iſſu'd out, intended to be iſſu'd to ſome Great Men of that Profeſſion, for the levying of Soldiers, and to command and employ them according to private Inſtructions, which we doubt were fram'd for the Advantage of thoſe who were the Contrivers of them. His Majeſty's Treaſure was conſum'd, his Revenue anticipated; his Servants and Officers compell'd to lend great Sums of Money: Multitudes were call'd to the Council-Table, who were tir'd with long Attendances there, for refuſing illegal Payments. The Priſons were fill'd with their Commitments; many of the Sheriffs ſummon'd into the Star-Chamber, and ſome impriſon'd, for not being quick

quick enough in levying Ship-Money; the People languiſh'd under Grief and Fear; no viſible Hope being left, but in Deſperation. The Nobility began to be weary of their Silence and Patience, and ſenſible of the Duty and Truſt which belongs to them; and thereupon ſome of the moſt eminent of them did petition his Majeſty, at ſuch a time when evil Counſels were ſo ſtrong, that they had Reaſon to expect more hazard to themſelves, than redreſs of thoſe publick Evils for which they interceded. Whilſt the Kingdom was in this Agitation and Diſtemper, the *Scots*, reſtrain'd in their Trades, impoveriſh'd by the Loſs of many of their Ships, bereav'd of all Poſſibility of ſatisfying his Majeſty by any naked Supplication, enter'd with a powerful Army into the Kingdom; and without any hoſtile Act or Spoil in the Country as they paſs'd, more than forcing a Paſſage over the *Tyne* at *Newborne*, near *Newcaſtle*, poſſeſs'd themſelves of *Newcaſtle*, and had a fair Opportunity to preſs on farther upon the King's Army: but Duty and Reverence to his Majeſty, and brotherly Love to the *Engliſh* Nation, made them ſtay there; whereby the King had leiſure to entertain better Counſels; wherein God ſo bleſs'd and directed him, that he ſummon'd the great Council of Peers to meet at *York*, upon the 24th of *September*, and there declar'd a Parliament to begin the third of *November* then following. The

Scots, the firſt Day of the Great Council, preſented an humble Petition to his Majeſty, whereupon the Treaty was appointed at *Rippon*; a preſent Ceſſation of Arms agreed upon, and the full Concluſion of all Differences refer'd to the Wiſdom and Care of the Parliament. At our firſt Meeting, all Oppoſitions ſeem'd to vaniſh; the Miſchiefs were ſo evident, which thoſe evil Counſellors produc'd, that no Man durſt ſtand up to defend them. Yet the Work it ſelf afforded Difficulty enough. The multiply'd Evils and Corruption of ſixteen Years, ſtrengthen'd by Cuſtom and Authority, and the concurrent Intereſts of many powerful Delinquents, were now to be brought to Judgment and Reformation. The King's Houſhold was to be provided for; they had brought him to that Want, that he could not ſupply his ordinary and neceſſary Expences, without the Aſſiſtance of his People. Two Armies were to be pay'd, which amounted very near to eighty thouſand Pounds a Month; the People were to be tenderly charg'd, having been formerly exhauſted with many burdenſome Projects.

The Difficulties ſeem'd to be inſuperable, which by the Divine Providence we have overcome. The Contrarieties incompatible, which yet in a great meaſure we have reconcil'd. Six Subſidies have been granted, and a Bill of Poll-Moeny; which, if

if it be duly levy'd, may equal ſix Subſidies more; in all, ſix hundred thouſand Pounds. Beſides, we had contracted a Debt to the *Scots*, of two hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds; and yet God had ſo bleſs'd the Endeavours of this Parliament, that the Kingdom is a great Gainer by all theſe Charges. The Ship-Money is aboliſh'd, which coſt the Kingdom above two hundred thouſand Pounds a Year. The Coat and Conduct-Money, and other Military Charges, are taken away, which in many Counties amounted to little leſs than the Ship-Money. The Monopolies are all ſuppreſs'd, whereof ſome few did prejudice the Subject above a Million yearly: The Soap, an hundred thouſand Pounds; the Wine three hundred thouſand Pounds; the Leather muſt needs exceed both; and Salt could be no leſs than that; beſides the inferior Monopolies, which, if they could be exactly computed, would make up a great Sum. That which is more beneficial than all is, that the Root of theſe Evils is taken away, which was the arbitrary Power pretended to be in his Majeſty, of taxing the Subject, or charging their Eſtates without Conſent in Parliament; which is now declar'd to be againſt Law, by the Judgment of both Houſes, and likewiſe by an Act of Parliament. Another Step of great advantage is this; The living Grievances of the evil Counſellors and Actors of theſe Miſchiefs, have

been ſo quell'd by the Juſtice done upon the Earl of *Strafford*, the Flight of the Lord *Finch*, and Secretary *Windebank*, the Accuſation and Impriſonment of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, of Judge *Bartlet*, and the Impeachment of divers other Biſhops and Judges, that it is like not only to be an Eaſe to the preſent Times, but a Preſervation to the future. The Diſcontinuance of Parliaments, is prevented by the Bill for a Triennial Parliament; and the abrupt Diſſolution of this Parliament by another Bill, by which it is provided, it ſhall not be diſſolv'd or adjourn'd, without the Conſent of both Houſes.

Which two Laws, well conſider'd, may be thought more advantageous than all the former, becauſe they ſecure a full Operation of the preſent Remedy, and afford a perpetual Spring of Remedies for the future. The Star-Chamber, the High Commiſſion, the Courts of the Preſident and Council in the *North*, were ſo many Forges of Miſery, Oppreſſion, and Violence, and are all taken away; whereby Men are more ſecur'd in their Perſons, Liberties, and Eſtates, than they could be by any Law or Example for the Regulation of thoſe Courts, or Terror of the Judges. The immoderate Power of the Council-Table, and the exceſſive Abuſe of that Power, is ſo order'd and reſtrain'd, that we may well hope that no ſuch Things as were frequently done by 'em,

to

to the prejudice of the publick Liberty, will appear in future Times, but only in Stories, to give us and our Poſterity more occaſion to praiſe God for his Majeſty's Goodneſs, and the faithful Endeavours of the Parliament. The Canons, and the Power of Canon-making, are blaſted by the Vote of both Houſes. The exorbitant Power of Biſhops, and their Courts, are much abated, by ſome Proviſions in the Bill againſt the High-Commiſſion Court. The Authors of the many Innovations in Doctrine and Ceremonies, the Miniſters that have been ſcandalous in their Lives, have been ſo terrify'd in juſt Complaints and Accuſations, that we may well hope they will be more modeſt for the time to come; either inwardly convicted by the Sight of their own Folly, or outwardly reſtrain'd by the Fear of Puniſhment. The Foreſts are by a good Law reduc'd to their right Bounds; the Encroachments and Oppreſſions of the Stannery-Courts, the Extortions of the Clerk of the Market, and the Compulſion of the Subject to receive the Order of Knighthood againſt his will, paying of Fines for not receiving it, and the vexatious Proceedings thereupon for levying of thoſe Fines, are by other beneficial Laws reform'd and prevented. Many excellent Laws and Proviſions are in preparation, for removing the inordinate Power, Vexation, and Uſurpation of Biſhops, for reforming the Pride and Idleneſs of many of the

Clergy, for eaſing the People of unneceſſary Ceremonies in Religion, for cenſuring and removing unworthy and unprofitable Miniſters, and for maintaining godly and diligent Preachers through the Kingdom. Other things of main Importance for the Good of this Kingdom, are in propoſition; though little could hitherto be done, in regard of the many other more preſſing Buſineſſes, which yet, before the end of this Seſſion, we hope may receive ſome Progreſs and Perfection. The eſtabliſhing and ordering the King's Revenue, that ſo the abuſe of Officers, and Superfluity of Expences, may be cut off, and the neceſſary Diſburſements for his Majeſty's Honour, the Defence and Government of the Kingdom may be more certainly provided for. The regulating of Courts of Juſtice, and abridging both the Delays and Charges of Law-Suits; the ſettling of ſome good Courſes for preventing the Exportation of Gold and Silver, and the Inequality of Exchanges betwixt us and other Nations, for the advancing of native Commodities, increaſe of our Manufacture, and well ballancing of Trade, whereby the Stock of the Kingdom may be increas'd, or at leaſt kept from impairing, as through Neglect hereof it hath done for many Years laſt paſt; for improving the Herring-Fiſhing upon our own Coaſts, which will be of mighty uſe in the Employment of the Poor, and a plentiful

tiful Nurſery of Mariners, for enabling the Kingdom in any great Action. The Oppoſitions, Obſtructions, and other Difficulties wherewith we have been encounter'd, and which ſtill lie in our way with ſome Strength, and much Obſtinacy, are theſe: The malignant Party whom we have formerly deſcrib'd to be the Actors and Promoters of all our Miſery, they have taken heart again. They have been able to prefer ſome of their own Factors and Agents to Degrees of Honour, to Places of Truſt and Employment, even during the Parliament. They have endeavour'd to work in his Majeſty ill Impreſſions and Opinions of our Proceedings, as if we had altogether done our own Work, and not his; and had obtain'd from him many things very prejudicial to the Crown, both in reſpect of Prerogative and Profit. To wipe out this Slander, we think good only to ſay thus much, That all that we have done, is for his Majeſty, his Greatneſs, Honour, and Support. When we yielded to give twenty five thouſand Pounds a Month for the Relief of the Northern Counties, this was given to the King; for he was bound to protect his Subjects. They were his Majeſty's evil Counſellors, and their ill Inſtruments that were Actors in thoſe Grievances which brought in the *Scots*. And if his Majeſty pleaſe to force thoſe who were the Authors of this War, to make Satisfaction, as he

might juſtly and eaſily do, it ſeems very reaſonable, that the People might well be excus'd from taking upon them this Burden, being altogether innocent and free from being any Cauſes of it.

When we undertook the Charge of the Army, which coſt above 500*col.* a Month, was not this given to the King? Was it not his Majeſty's Army? Were not all the Commanders under Contract with his Majeſty at higher Rates and greater Wages than ordinary? And have not we taken upon us to diſcharge all the brotherly Aſſiſtance of three hundred thouſand Pounds which we gave the *Scots?* Was it not toward Repair of thoſe Damages and Loſſes which they receiv'd from the King's Ships, and from his Miniſters? Theſe three Particulars amount to above eleven hundred thouſand Pounds. Beſides, his Majeſty hath receiv'd by Impoſitions upon Merchandize, at leaſt four hundred thouſand Pounds; ſo that his Majeſty hath had out of the Subject's Purſe, ſince the Parliament began, one Million and an half: and yet theſe Men can be ſo impudent, as to tell his Majeſty, that we have done nothing for him. As to the ſecond Branch of this Slander, we acknowledge, with much Thankfulneſs, that his Majeſty hath paſs'd more good Bills to the Advantage of the Subjects, than have been in many Ages; but withal we cannot forget, that theſe venomous Counſels did manifeſt

niſeſt themſelves in ſome Endeavours to hinder theſe good Acts: and for both Houſes of Parliament, we may with Truth and Modeſty ſay thus much, that we have ever been careful not to deſire any Thing that ſhould weaken the Crown, either in juſt Profit, or uſeful Power. The Triennial Parliament, for the Matter of it, doth not extend to ſo much as by Law we ought to have requir'd, there being two Statutes ſtill in Force for a Parliament to be once a Year; and for the Manner of it, it is in the King's Power, that it ſhall never take effect, if he by a timely Summons ſhall prevent any other way of aſſembling. In the Bill for Continuance of this preſent Parliament, there ſeems to be ſome Reſtraint of the Royal Power in diſſolving of Parliaments, not to take it out of the Crown, but to ſuſpend the Execution of it for this Time and Occaſion only; which was ſo neceſſary for the King's own Security, and the publick Peace, that without it we could not have undertaken any of theſe great Charges, but muſt have left both the Armies to Diſorder and Confuſion, and the whole Kingdom to Blood and Rapine. The Star-Chamber was much more fruitful in Oppreſſion than in Profit, the great Fines being for the moſt part given away, and the reſt ſtall'd at long Times. The Fines of the High Commiſſion were in themſelves unjuſt, and ſeldom or never came into the King's Purſe. Theſe four Bills are par-

ticularly and more ſpecially inſtanc'd; in the reſt, there will not be found ſo much as a Shadow of Prejudice to the Crown. They have ſought to diminiſh our Reputation with the People, and to bring them out of love with Parliaments; the Aſperſions which they have attempted this way, have been ſuch as theſe: That we have ſpent much Time, and done little, eſpecially in thoſe Grievances which concern Religion. That the Parliament is a Burden to the Kingdom, by the abundance of Protections, which hinder Juſtice and Trade; and by many Subſidies granted, much more heavy than any they formerly endur'd. To which there is a ready Anſwer; If the Time ſpent in this Parliament be conſider'd in relation backward, to the long Growth and deep Root of thoſe Grievances, which we have remov'd, to the powerful Supports of thoſe Delinquents which we have purſued, to the great Neceſſities and other Charges of the Commonwealth, for which we have provided: Or, if it be conſider'd in relation forward, to the many Advantages, which not only the preſent, but future Ages are like to reap by the good Laws and other Proceedings in this Parliament; we doubt not but it will be thought by all indifferent Judgments, that our Time hath been much better employ'd than a far greater Proportion of Time in many former Parliaments put together; and the Charges

which have been laid upon the Subject, and the other Inconveniencies which they have borne, will ſeem very light in reſpect of the benefit they have and may receive. And for the matter of Protections, the Parliament is ſo ſenſible of it, that therein they intend to give them whatſoever eaſe may ſtand with Honour and Juſtice; and are in a way of paſſing a Bill to give them Satisfaction. They have ſought by many ſubtil Practices, to cauſe Jealouſies and Diviſions betwixt us and our Brethren of *Scotland*, by ſlandering their Proceedings and Intentions towards us, and by ſecret Endeavours to inſtigate and incenſe them and us one againſt another. They have had ſuch a Party of Biſhops and Popiſh Lords in the Houſe of Peers, as hath cauſed much Oppoſition and Delay in the Proſecution of Delinquents, hindred the proceeding of divers good Bills paſſed in the Commons Houſe, concerning the Reformation of ſundry great Abuſes and Corruptions both in Church and State. They have laboured to ſeduce and corrupt ſome of the Commons Houſe, to draw them into Conſpiracies and Combinations againſt the Liberty of the Parliament: And by their Inſtruments and Agents they have attempted to diſaffect and diſcontent his Majeſty's Army, and to engage it for the Maintenance of their wicked and traiterous Deſigns, the keeping up of Biſhops in Votes and Functions, and by force to compel the Parliament

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to order, limit and diſpoſe their Proceedings in ſuch manner as might beſt concur with the Intentions of this dangerous and potent Faction: And when one miſchievous Deſign and Attempt of theirs to bring on the Army againſt the Parliament, and the City of *London*, have been diſcovered and prevented, they preſently undertook another of the ſame damnable nature, with this Addition to it, to endeavour to make the *Scottiſh* Army neutral, whilſt the *Engliſh* Army which they had laboured to corrupt and invenom againſt us by their falſe and ſlanderous Suggeſtions, ſhould execute their Malice to the Subverſion of our Religion, and the Diſſolution of our Government. Thus they have been continually practiſing to diſturb the Peace, and plotting the Deſtruction even of all the King's Dominions, and have employed their Emiſſaries and Agents in them all, for the promoting of their deviliſh Deſigns; which the Vigilancy of thoſe who were well affected hath ſtill diſcovered and defeated, before they were ripe for Execution in *England* and *Scotland*: only in *Ireland* which was farther off, they have had Time and Opportunity to mould and prepare their Work, and had brought it to that Perfection, that they had poſſeſſed themſelves of that whole Kingdom, totally ſubverted the Government of it, rooted out Religion, and deſtroyed all the Proteſtants, whom the Conſcience of their Duty to God, their King and Country would

would not have permitted to join with them, if by God's wonderful Providence their main Enterprize upon the City and Caſtle of *Dublin*, had not been detected and prevented upon the very Eve before it ſhould have been executed. Notwithſtanding, they have in other Parts of that Kingdom broken out into open Rebellion, ſurprized Towns and Caſtles, committed Murders, Rapes, and other Villanies, and ſhaken off all Bonds of Obedience to his Majeſty, and the Laws of the Realm; and in general have kindled ſuch a Fire, as nothing but God's infinite Bleſſing upon the Wiſdom and Endeavours of this State will be able to quench it: And certainly had not God in his great Mercy unto this Land diſcovered and confounded their former Deſigns, we had been the Prologue to this Tragedy in *Ireland*, and had by this time been made the lamentable ſpectacle of Miſery and Confuſion. And now what Hope have we but in God? whenas the only Means of our Subſiſtence, and power of Reformation, is under him, in the Parliament. But what can we the Commons do without the Conjunction of the Houſe of Lords? and what Conjunction can we expect there, when the Biſhops and recuſant Lords are ſo numerous and prevalent, that they are able to croſs and interrupt our beſt Endeavours for Reformation, and by that means give Advantage to this malignant Party to traduce our Proceedings?

They

They infuſe into the People, that we mean to aboliſh all Church-Government, and leave every Man to his Fancy for the Service and Worſhip of God, abſolving him of that Obedience which he owes under God unto his Majeſty, whom we know to be intruſted with the Eccleſiaſtical Law as well as with the Temporal, to regulate all the Members of the Church of *England* by ſuch Rules of Order and Diſcipline as are eſtabliſh'd by Parliament, which is his great Council in all Affairs both in Church and State. We confeſs our Intention is, and our Endeavours have been, to reduce within bounds that exorbitant Power which the Prelates have aſſum'd to themſelves, ſo contrary both to the Word of God and to the Laws of the Land; to which end we paſt the Bill for the removing them from their Temporal Power and Employments, that ſo the better they might with Meekneſs apply themſelves to the Diſcharge of their Functions: which Bill themſelves oppoſed, and were the principal Inſtruments of croſsing it.

And we do here declare, That it is far from our Purpoſe or Deſire to let looſe the golden Reins of Diſcipline, and Government in the Church, to leave private Perſons or particular Congregations to take up what Form of Divine Service they pleaſe; for we hold it requiſite that there ſhould be throughout the whole Realm a Conformity

to

to that Order which the Laws enjoin, according to the Word of God: and we deſire to unburden the Conſciencee of Men, of needleſs and ſuperſtitious Ceremonies, ſuppreſs Innovations, and take away the Monuments of Idolatry. And the better to effect the intended Reformation, we deſire there may be a general Synod of the moſt grave, pious, learned, and judicious Divines of this Iſland, aſſiſted with ſome from foreign Parts profeſſing the ſame Religion with us; who may conſider of all things neceſſary for the Peace and good Government of the Church, and repreſent the Reſults of their Conſultations unto the Parliament, to be there allowed of and confirmed, and receive the ſtamp of Authority, thereby to find Paſſage and Obedience through the Kingdom. They have maliciouſly charged us that we intend to deſtroy and diſcourage Learning; whereas it is our chiefeſt Care and Deſire to advance it, and to provide a competent Maintenance for conſcionable and preaching Miniſters throughout the Kingdom: which will be a great Encouragement to Scholars, and a certain means whereby the Want, Meanneſs, and Ignorance, to which a great part of the Clergy is now ſubject, will be prevented. And we intend likewiſe to reform, and purge the Fountains of Learning, the two Univerſities, that the Streams flowing from thence may be clear and pure, and an Honour and Comfort to the

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to that Order which the Laws enjoin, according to the Word of God: and we desire to unburden the Consciencee of Men, of needless and superstitious Ceremonies, suppress Innovations, and take away the Monuments of Idolatry. And the better to effect the intended Reformation, we desire there may be a general Synod of the most grave, pious, learned, and judicious Divines of this Island, assisted with some from foreign Parts professing the same Religion with us; who may consider of all things necessary for the Peace and good Government of the Church, and represent the Results of their Consultations unto the Parliament, to be there allowed of and confirmed, and receive the stamp of Authority, thereby to find Passage and Obedience through the Kingdom. They have maliciously charged us that we intend to destroy and discourage Learning; whereas it is our chiefest Care and Desire to advance it, and to provide a competent Maintenance for conscionable and preaching Ministers throughout the Kingdom: which will be a great Encouragement to Scholars, and a certain means whereby the Want, Meanness, and Ignorance, to which a great part of the Clergy is now subject, will be prevented. And we intend likewise to reform, and purge the Fountains of Learning, the two Universities, that the Streams flowing from thence may be clear and pure, and an Honour and Comfort to the

the whole Land. They have ſtrained to blaſt our Proceedings in Parliament, by wreſting the Interpretations of our Orders from their genuine Intention. They tell the People that our meddling with the Power of Epiſcopacy, hath cauſed Sectaries and Conventicles; when Idolatry and Popiſh Ceremonies introduced into the Church by the Command of the Biſhops, have not only debarred the People from thence, but expelled them from the Kingdom. Thus with *Elijah* we are called by this malignant Party the Troublers of the State; and ſtill while we endeavour to reform their Abuſes, they make us the Authors of thoſe Miſchiefs we ſtudy to prevent. For the perfecting of the Work begun, and removing all future Impediments, we conceive theſe Courſes will be very effectual; ſeeing the Religion of the Papiſts hath ſuch Principles, as do certainly tend to the Deſtruction and Extirpation of all Proteſtants when they ſhall have opportunity to effect it.

It is neceſſary in the firſt place to keep them in ſuch Condition, as that they may not be able to do us any hurt; and for avoiding of ſuch Connivance and Favour as hath heretofore been ſhewed unto them, that his Majeſty be pleaſed to grant a ſtanding Commiſſion to ſome choice Men named in Parliament, who may take notice of their Increaſe, their Counſels and Proceedings; and uſe all the due means by Execution

cution of the Laws, to prevent any miſchievous Deſigns againſt the Peace and Safety of this Kingdom. That ſome good courſe be taken to diſcover the counterfeit and falſe Conformity of Papiſts to the Church; by colour whereof Perſons very much diſaffected to the true Religion have been admitted into Places of greaſt Authority and Truſt in the Kingdom.

For the better Preſervation of the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, that all illegal Grievances and Exactions be preſented and puniſhed at the Seſſions, and Aſſizes; and that Judges and Juſtices be careful to give this in Charge to the Grand Jury, and both the Sheriff and Juſtices to be ſworn to the due Execution of the Petition of Right and other Laws: That his Majeſty be humbly petitioned by both Houſes to employ ſuch Counſellors, Ambaſſadors, and other Miniſters, in managing his Buſineſs at home and abroad, as the Parliament may have cauſe to confide in; without which we cannot give his Majeſty ſuch Supplies for ſupport of his own Eſtate, nor ſuch Aſſiſtance to the Proteſtant Party beyond the Sea, as is deſired. It may often fall out that the Commons may have juſt cauſe to take exceptions at ſome Men for being Counſellors, and yet not charge thoſe Men with Crimes, for there be Grounds of Difference which lie not in proof; there are others, which tho' they may be proved, yet are not

not legally criminal. To be a known favourer of Papiſts, or to have been very forward in defending or countenancing ſome great Offenders queſtioned in Parliament; or to ſpeak contemptuouſly of either Houſe of Parliament, or Parliamentary Proceedings; or ſuch as are Factors or Agents for any foreign Prince of another Religion; ſuch as are juſtly ſuſpected to get Counſellors Places, or any other of Truſt concerning publick Employments for Money: For all theſe and divers others we may have great reaſon to be earneſt with his Majeſty not to put his great Affairs into ſuch Hands, tho' we may be unwilling to proceed againſt them in any legal way of Charge or Impeachment. That all Counſellors of State may be ſworn to obſerve thoſe Laws which concern the Subject in his Liberty; that they may likewiſe take an Oath not to receive or give Reward or Penſion from any foreign Prince, but ſuch as they within ſome reaſonable time diſcover to the Lords of his Majeſty's Council: And altho' they ſhould wickedly forſwear themſelves, yet it may herein do good to make them known to be falſe and perjur'd to thoſe who employ them, and thereby bring them into as little Credit with them as with us. That his Majeſty may have cauſe to be in love with good Counſel and good Men, by ſhewing him in an humble and dutiful manner, how full of advantage it would be

be to himſelf, to ſee his own Eſtate ſettled in a plentiful Condition to ſupport his Honour, to ſee his People united in ways of Duty to him, and endeavours of the publick Good; to ſee Happineſs, Wealth, Peace and Safety derived to his own Kingdom, and procured to his Allies, by the Influence of his own Power and Government. That all good Courſes may be taken to unite the two Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, to be mutually aiding and aſſiſting one another for the common good of the Iſland, and Honour of both. To take away all Differences amongſt our ſelves for Matters indifferent in their own Nature concerning Religion, and to unite our ſelves againſt the common Enemies; which are the better enabled by our Diviſions to deſtroy us all, as they hope and have often endeavour'd. To labour by all Offices of Friendſhip to unite the foreign Churches with us in the ſame Cauſe, and to ſeek their Liberty, Safety, and Proſperity, as bound thereunto both by Charity to them, and by Wiſdom for our own Good. For by this means our own Strength ſhall be encreaſed, and by a mutual Concurrence to the ſame common End, we ſhall be enabled to procure the Good of the whole Body of the Proteſtant Profeſſion. If theſe things may be obſerved, we doubt not but God will crown this Parliament with ſuch Succeſs, as ſhall be the beginning and foun-

foundation of more Honour and Happineſs to his Majeſty, than ever yet was enjoyed by any of his Royal Predeceſſors.

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Petition which accompanied the Declaration preſented to him at Hampton-Court, *Dec.* 1. 1641.

WE having received from you ſoon after our return out of *Scotland*, a long Petition, conſiſting of many Deſires of great moment; together with a Declaration of a very unuſual Nature annexed thereunto: We had taken ſome time to conſider of it, as befitted us in a Matter of that Conſequence; being confident, that your own Reaſon and Regard to us, as well as our expreſs intimation by our Comptroller to that Purpoſe, would have reſtrained you from the publiſhing of it, till ſuch time as you ſhould have received our Anſwer to it: But, much againſt our Expectation, finding the contrary, that the ſaid Declaration is already abroad in Print, by Directions from your Houſe, as appears by the printed Copy; We muſt let you know, that we are very ſenſible of the Diſreſpect. Notwithſtanding, it is our Intention, that no failing on your Part, ſhall make us fail in curs, of giving all

all due Satisfaction to the Desires of our People in a Parliamentary way; and therefore we send you this Answer to your Petition, reserving our self in point of the Declaration, which we think unparliamentary, and shall take a course to do that which we shall think fit in Prudence and Honour.

To the Petition we say, that altho' there are divers things in the Preamble of it which we are so far from admitting, that we profess we cannot at all understand them: as, *Of a wicked and malignant Party prevalent in the Government*; *Of some of that Party admitted to our Privy Council, and to other Employments of Trust, and neareſt to us and our Children*; *Of Endeavours to sow among the People false Scandals and Imputations, to blemish and disgrace the Procceedings of the Parliament.* All or any of which, did we know of, we should be as ready to remedy and punish, as you to complain of. That the Prayers of your Petition are grounded upon such Premisses, as we must in no wise admit; yet notwithstanding, we are pleased to give this Answer to you.

To the first, concerning Religion consisting of several Branches, we say, That for preserving the Peace and Safety of this Kingdom from the Designs of the Popish Party, we have, and will still concur with all the just Desires of our People in a Parliamentary way. That for the depriving

of the Biſhops of their Votes in Parliament, We would have you conſider, that their Right is grounded upon the fundamental Law of the Kingdom, and Conſtitution of Parliament. This we would have you conſider; but ſince you deſire our Concurrence herein in a Parliamentary way, we will give no further Anſwer at this time.

As for the abridging of the inordinate Power of the Clergy, we conceive that the taking away of the High-Commiſſion Court hath well moderated that; but if there continue any Uſurpations, or Exceſſes in their Juriſdictions, we therein never have nor will protect them.

Unto that Clauſe which concerneth Corruptions (as you ſtile them) in Religion, in Church-Government, and in Diſcipline, and the removing of ſuch unneceſſary Ceremonies as weak Conſciences might cheque at: That for any illegal Innovations, which may have crept in, we ſhall willingly concur in the removal of them. That if our Parliament ſhall adviſe us to call a National Synod, which may duly examine ſuch Ceremonies as give juſt Cauſe of Offence to any, we ſhall take it into Conſideration, and apply our ſelf to give due Satisfaction therein. But we are very ſorry to hear in ſuch general Terms, Corruption in Religion objected, ſince we are perſuaded in our Conſcience that no Church can

can be found upon the Earth that profeſſeth the true Religion with more Purity of Doctrine than the Church of *England* doth, nor where the Government and Diſcipline are jointly more beautified, and free from Superſtition, than as they are here eſtabliſh'd by Law; which (by the grace of God) we will with conſtancy maintain (while we live) in their Purity and Glory, not only againſt all Invaſions of Popery, but alſo from the Irreverence of thoſe many Schiſmaticks and Separatiſts, wherewith of late this Kingdom and this City abounds, to the great diſhonour and hazard both of Church and State; for the Suppreſſion of whom, we require your timely aid and active aſſiſtance.

To the ſecond Prayer of the Petition, concerning the removal and choice of Counſellors, we know not any of our Council to whom the Character ſet forth in the Petition can belong. That by thoſe whom we had expoſed to tryal, we have already given you ſufficient Teſtimony that there is no Man ſo near unto us in Place or Affection, whom we will not leave to the Juſtice of the Law, if you ſhall bring a particular Charge, and ſufficient Proofs againſt him; and of this we do again aſſure you: but in the mean time we wiſh you to forbear ſuch general Aſperſions as may reflect upon all our Council, ſince you name none in particular.

That for the choice of our Counſellors and Miniſters of State, it were to debar us that natural liberty all Freemen have; and as it is the undoubted Right of the Crown of *England*, to call ſuch Perſons to our Secret Councils, to publick Employment, and our particular Service, as we ſhall think fit; ſo we are, and ever ſhall be very careful to make Election of ſuch Perſons in thoſe Places of Truſt, as ſhall have given good Teſtimonies of their Abilities and Integrity, and againſt whom there can be no juſt cauſe of Exception, whereon reaſonably to ground a Diffidence: and to choices of this Nature, we aſſure you that the Mediation of the neareſt unto us hath always concurred.

To the third Prayer of your Petition concerning *Ireland*, we underſtand your deſire of not alienating the forfeited Lands thereof, to proceed from your much Care and Love; and likewiſe that it may be a Reſolution very fit for us to take: but whether it be reaſonable to declare Reſolutions of that nature before the Events of a War be ſeen, that we much doubt of. Howſoever, we cannot but thank you for this care, and your chearful engagement for the Suppreſſion of that Rebellion; upon the ſpeedy effecting whereof, the Glory of God in the Proteſtant Profeſſion, the Safety of the *Britiſh* there, our Honour, and that of the Nation, ſo much depends: and all the Intereſts

Intereſts of this Kingdom being ſo involved in that buſineſs, we cannot but quicken your Affections therein, and ſhall deſire you to frame your Counſels, and to give ſuch expedition to the Work, as the nature thereof, and the preſſures in point of time require, and whereof you are put in mind by the daily Inſolence and Increaſe of thoſe Rebels.

For concluſion, your Promiſe to apply your ſelves to ſuch courſes as may ſupport our Royal Eſtate with Honour and Plenty at home, and with Power and Reputation abroad, is that which we have ever promiſed our ſelf, both from your Loyalties and Affections; and alſo for what we have already done, and ſhall daily be adding unto for the comfort and happineſs of our People.

His Majeſty's Declaration to all his loving Subjects. Publiſhed with the Advice of his Privy-Council.

ALthough we do not believe that our Houſe of Commons intended, by their Remonſtrance of the State of the Kingdom, to put us to any Apology either for our paſt or preſent Actions; notwithſtanding, ſince they have thought it ſo very neceſſary (upon

their Obſervation of the preſent Diſtemper) to publiſh the ſame, for the ſatisfaction of all our loving Subjects, we have thought it very ſuitable to the Duty of our place (with which God had truſted us) to do our part to ſo good a work: in which we ſhall not think it below our Kingly Dignity to deſcend to any particular, which may compoſe and ſettle the Affections of our meaneſt Subjects; ſince we are ſo conſcious to ourſelf of ſuch upright Intentions and Endeavours, and only of ſuch (for which we give God thanks) for the Peace and Happineſs of our Kingdom, in which the Proſperity of our Subjects muſt be included, that we wiſh from our heart, that even our moſt ſecret Thoughts were publiſhed to their View and Examination. Though we muſt confeſs we cannot but be very ſorry in this conjuncture of time (when the unhappineſs of this Kingdom is ſo generally underſtood abroad) there ſhould be ſuch a neceſſity of publiſhing ſo many particulars, from which we pray, no inconveniences may enſue that were not intended.

We ſhall in few words paſs over that part of the Narrative, wherein the Misfortunes of this Kingdom from our firſt entring to the Crown, to the beginning of this Parliament, are remembred in ſo ſenſible Expreſſions; and that other which acknowledgeth the many good Laws paſſed by our Grace and Favour in this Parliament

for

for the Security of our People; of which we ſhall only ſay thus much, that as we have not refuſed to paſs any Bill preſented to us by our Parliament, for redreſs of thoſe Grievances mentioned in the Remonſtrance, ſo we have not had a greater Motive for the paſſing of thoſe Laws than our own Reſolution (grounded upon our Obſervation, and underſtanding the State of our Kingdom) to have freed our Subjects for the future, from thoſe preſſures which were grievous to them, if thoſe Laws had not been propounded; which therefore we ſhall as inviolably maintain, as we look to have our own Rights preſerved: not doubting but all our loving Subjects will look on thoſe Remedies, with that full Gratitude and Affection, that even the Memory of what they had formerly undergone by the Accidents and Neceſſities of thoſe Times, will not be unpleaſant to them: And poſſibly in a pious ſenſe of God's Bleſſing upon this Nation (how little ſhare ſoever we ſhall have of the acknowledgment) they will confeſs they have enjoyed a great meaſure of Happineſs (even the laſt ſixteen years) both in Peace and Plenty, not only comparatively in reſpect of their Neighbours, but even of thoſe Times which were juſtly accounted fortunate.

The Fears and Jealouſies which may make ſome impreſſion in the Minds of our People, we will ſuppoſe may be of two

ſorts; either for Religion, or Liberty and their Civil Intereſts. The Fears for Religion may haply be, not only as ours here eſtabliſhed may be invaded by the Romiſh Party, but as it is accompanied with ſome Ceremonies, at which ſome tender Conſciences really are, or pretend to be ſcandalized; for of any other which have been uſed without any legal Warrant or Injunction, and already are, or ſpeedily may be aboliſhed, we ſhall not ſpeak.

Concerning Religion, as there may be any ſuſpicion of Favour or Inclination to the Papiſts, we are willing to declare to all the World, that as we have been from our Childhood brought up in and practiſed the Religion now eſtabliſh'd in this Kingdom, ſo it is well known, we have (not contented ſimply with the Principles of our Education) given a good proportion of our Time and Pains, to the examination of the grounds of this Religion, as it is different from that of *Rome*; and are from our Soul ſo fully ſatisfied and aſſured that it is the moſt pure and agreeable to the Sacred Word of God, of any Religion now practiſed in the Chriſtian World; that as we believe we can maintain the ſame by unanſwerable Reaſons, ſo we hope we ſhould *readily ſeal to it by the Effuſion of our Blood, if it pleas'd God to call us to that Sacrifice.* And therefore nothing can be ſo acceptable unto us, as any Propoſition which may contribute

contribute to the Advancement of it here or the Propagation of it abroad; being the only means to draw down a bleſſing from God upon our ſelves, and this Nation. And we have been extremely unfortunate, if this Profeſſion of ours be wanting to our People: our conſtant practice in our own Perſon, having always been (without oſtentation) as much to the evidence of our care and duty herein, as we could poſſibly tell how to expreſs.

For Differences amongſt ourſelves, for matters indifferent in their own nature concerning Religion, we ſhall, in tenderneſs to any number of our loving Subjects, very willingly comply with the advice of our Parliament; that ſome Law may be made for the exemptions of tender Conſciences from puniſhment, or proſecution for ſuch Ceremonies, and in ſuch caſes, which by the judgment of moſt Men, are held to be matters indifferent, and of ſome to be abſolutely unlawful. Provided, that this Eaſe be attempted, and purſu'd with that modeſty, temper and ſubmiſſion, that in the mean time the peace and quiet of the Kingdom be not diſturbed, the decency and comelineſs of God's Service diſcountenanced, nor the pious, ſober, and devout Actions of thoſe Reverend Perſons, who were the firſt favourers in the bleſſed Reformation, or of that time, be ſcandaliz'd and defamed. For we cannot without grief of heart, and without

ſome tax upon our Self, and our Miniſters, for the not execution of our Laws, look upon the bold Licence of ſome Men, in printing of Pamphlets, in preaching and printing of Sermons, ſo full of bitterneſs and malice againſt the preſent Government, againſt the Laws eſtabliſhed; ſo full of Sedition againſt our Self, and the Peace of the Kingdom; that we are many times amazed to conſider by what Eyes theſe things are ſeen, and by what Ears they are heard: And therefore we have good cauſe to command, as we have done, and hereby do, all our Judges and Miniſters of Juſtice, our Attorney and Sollicitor General, and the reſt of our learned Counſel, to proceed with all ſpeed againſt ſuch, and their Abettors, who either by writing, or words have ſo boldly and maliciouſly violated the Laws, diſturbed the Peace of the Common-wealth; and as much as in them lie, ſhaken the very Foundation upon which the Peace and Happineſs is founded and conſtituted. And we doubt not but all our loving Subjects will be very ſenſible that this buſy virulent demeanour is a fit Prologue to nothing but Confuſion; and if not very ſeaſonably puniſhed and prevented, will not only be a blemiſh to that wholſome Accommodation we intend, but an unſpeakable Scandal and Imputation, even upon the Profeſſion and Religion of this our Kingdom of *England*.

Concerning the Civil Liberties and Intereſts

tereſts of our Subjects, we ſhall need to ſay the leſs, having erected ſo many laſting Monuments of our Princely and Fatherly Care of our People, in thoſe many excellent Laws paſſed by us this Parliament, which in truth (with very much Content to our ſelf) we conceive to be ſo large and ample, that very many ſober Men have very little left to wiſh for.

We underſtood well the Right, and Pretences of Right, we departed from, in the conſenting to the Bills of the Triennial Parliament, for the continuance of this preſent Parliament, and in the preamble to the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage; the Matter of which having begot ſo many Diſturbances in late Parliaments, we are willing to remove, that no Intereſt of ours might hereafter break that Correſpondence: abundantly contenting our ſelf with an Aſſurance (which we ſtill have) that we ſhould be repaired and ſupplied by a juſt proportion of Confidence, Bounty and Obedience of our People. In the Bills for the taking away the High-Commiſſion, and Star-Chamber Courts, we believe we had given that real Satisfaction, that all Jealouſies and Apprehenſions of Arbitrary Preſſures under the Civil or Eccleſiaſtical State, would eaſily have been abandoned, eſpecially when they ſaw all poſſible Doubts ſecured by the Viſitation of a Triennial Parliament.

Theſe, and others of no mean Conſide-

ration, we had rather ſhould be valued in the Hearts and Affections of our People, than in any mention of our own; not doubting, but as we have taken all theſe Occaſions to render their Condition moſt comfortable and happy, ſo they will always in a grateful and dutiful Relation, be ready with equal Tenderneſs and Alacrity, to advance our Rights, and preſerve our Honour, upon which their own Security and Subſiſtence ſo much depends. And we will be ſo careful, that no particular ſhall be preſented unto us for the compleating and eſtabliſhing that Security, to which we will not with the ſame Readineſs contribute our beſt Aſſiſtance.

If theſe Reſolutions be the Effects of our preſent Councils, (and we take God to witneſs that they are ſuch, and that all our loving Subjects may confidently expect the Benefit of them from us) certainly no ill Deſign upon the Publick can accompany ſuch Reſolutions; neither will there be greater Cauſe of Suſpicion of any Perſons preferred by us to Degrees of Honour, and Places of Truſt and Employment ſince this Parliament. And we muſt confeſs, that among our Misfortunes, we reckon it not the leaſt, that having not retained in our Service, nor protected any one Perſon, againſt whom our Parliament hath excepted during the whole ſitting of it, and having in all that time ſcarce vouchſafed to any

Man

Man an Inſtance of our Grace and Favour, but to ſuch who were under ſuch eminent Characters of Eſtimation amongſt our People; there ſhould ſo ſoon be any Miſunderſtanding or Jealouſy of their Fidelity and Uprightneſs; eſpecially in a time when we take all Occaſions to declare, That we conceive our ſelf only capable of being ſerved by honeſt Men, and in honeſt ways. However, if in Truth we have been miſtaken in ſuch our Election, the Particular ſhall be no ſooner diſcovered to us, either by our own Obſervation, or other certain Information, than we will leave them to publick Juſtice under the marks of our Diſpleaſure.

If notwithſtanding this, any malignant Party ſhall take heart, and be willing to ſacrifice the Peace and Happineſs of their Country to their own ſiniſter Ends and Ambitions, under what Pretence of Religion and Conſcience ſoever; if they ſhall endeavour to leſſen our Reputation and Intereſt, and to weaken our lawful Power and Authority with our good Subjects: if they ſhall go about, by diſcountenancing the preſent Laws, to looſen the Bonds of Government, that all Diſorder and Confuſion may break in upon us; we doubt not but God in his good time will diſcover them unto us, and the Wiſdom and Courage of our High Court of Parliament join with us in their Suppreſſion and Puniſhment.

Having now ſaid all that we can to expreſs the Clearneſs and Uprightneſs of our Intentions to our People, and done all we can to manifeſt thoſe Intentions; we cannot but confidently believe all our good Subjects will acknowledge our part to be fully performed, both in Deeds paſt, and preſent Reſolutions, to do whatſoever with Juſtice may be required of us; and that their Quiet and Proſperity depends now wholly upon themſelves, and is in their own Power, by yielding all Obedience and due *Reverence to the Law, which is the Inheritance of every Subject, and the only Security he can have for his Life, Liberty or Eſtate; and the which being neglected or diſeſteemed (under what ſpecious ſhews ſoever) a very great Meaſure of Infelicity, if not irreparable Confuſion, muſt without doubt fall upon them.* And we doubt not it will be the moſt acceptable Declaration a King can make to his Subjects, That for our part we are reſolved not only duly to obſerve the Laws our ſelf, but to maintain them againſt what Oppoſition ſoever, though with the hazard of our Being.

And our Hope is, that not only the Loyalty and good Affections of all our loving Subjects will concur with us in the conſtant preſerving a good Underſtanding between us and our People, but at this time their own and our Intereſt, and Compaſſion of the lamentable Condition of our poor Proteſtant Subjects in *Ireland*, will invite them to a fair Intelligence and Unity amongſt

amongſt themſelves, that ſo we may with one Heart intend the relieving and recovering that unhappy Kingdom; where thoſe barbarous Rebels practiſe ſuch inhuman and unheard of Outrages upon our miſerable People, that no Chriſtian Ear can hear without Horror, nor Story parallel. And as we look upon this as the greateſt Affliction it hath pleas'd God to lay upon us, ſo our Unhappineſs is increas'd, in that by the Diſtempers at home, ſo early Remedies have not been apply'd to thoſe growing Evils, as the Expectation and Neceſſity there requires; tho' for our part, as we did upon the firſt Notice acquaint our Parliament of *Scotland* (where we then were) with that Rebellion, requiring their Aid and Aſſiſtance, and gave like ſpeedy Intimation and Recommendation to our Parliament here; ſo ſince our return hither, we have been forward to do all things which have been propos'd to us toward that Work, and have lately our ſelf offer'd (by a Meſſage to our Houſe of Peers, and communicated to our Houſe of Commons) to take upon us the Care to raiſe ſpeedily 10000 *Engliſh* Voluntiers for that Service, if the Houſue of Commons ſhall declare that they will pay them: which Particulars we are (in a manner) neceſſitated to publiſh, ſince we are inform'd, that the Malice of ſome Perſons hath whiſper'd it abroad, That the no ſpeedier advancing of this Buſineſs, hath proceeded from ſome want

want of Alacrity in us to this great Work; whereas we acknowledge it a high Crime againſt Almighty God, and inexcuſable to our good Subjects of our three Kingdoms, if we did not to the utmoſt employ all our Powers and Faculties to the ſpeedieſt and moſt effectual Aſſiſtance and Protection of that diſtreſs'd People.

And we ſhall now conjure all our good Subjects, of what Degree ſoever, by all the Bonds of Love, Duty, or Obedience, that are precious to good Men, to join with us for the Recovery of the Peace of that Kingdom, and the Preſervation of the Peace of this; to remove all their Doubts and Fears, which may interrupt their Affection to us, and all their Jealouſies and Apprehenſions which may leſſen their Charity to each other: and then (if the Sins of this Nation have not prepar'd an inevitable Judgment for us all) God will yet make us a great and glorious King, over a free and happy People.

NUMB. X.

A fatal Letter of the Marquiſs of Montroſs *to K.* Charles I. *deliver'd during the Treaty of* Uxbridge. *An Original.*

Memoirs, *p.* 67.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

THE laſt Diſpatch I ſent your Majeſty, was by my worthy Friend, and your Majeſty's

Majeſty's brave Servant, Sir *William Rollock*, from *Kintore*, near *Aberdeen*, dated the 14th of *September* laſt; wherein I acquainted your Majeſty with the good Succeſs of your Arms in this Kingdom, and of the Battles the Juſtice of your Cauſe has won over your obdur'd Rebel Subjects. Since Sir *William Rollock* went, I have travers'd all the *North* of *Scotland*, up to *Argyle*'s Country, who durſt not ſtay my coming, or I ſhould have given your Majeſty a good Account of him e'er now. But at laſt I have met with him yeſterday to his Coſt; of which your gracious Majeſty be pleas'd to receive the following Particulars.

After I had laid waſte the whole Country of *Argyle*, and brought off Proviſions for my Army of what could be found, I receiv'd Information, that *Argyle* was got together with a conſiderable Army, made up chiefly of his own Clan (*Family*) and Vaſſals, and Tenants, with others of the Rebels that join'd him; and that he was at *Innerlochy*, where he expected the Earl of *Seaforth*, and the Sept (*the Family*) of the *Fraziers*, to come up to him with all the Forces they could get together. Upon this Intelligence I departed out of *Argyleſhire*, and march'd through *Lorn*, *Glencow* and *Aber*, till I came to *Lochneſs*; my Deſign being to fall upon *Argyle*, before *Seaforth* and the *Fraziers* could join him. My March was through inacceſſible Mountains, where I could have no

Guides but Cow-herds, and they ſcarce acquainted with a Place but ſix Miles from their own Habitations. If I had been attack'd but with one hundred Men in ſome of theſe Paſſes, I muſt have certainly return'd back; for it would have been impoſſible to force my way, moſt of the Paſſes being ſo ſtrait, that three Men could not march abreaſt. I was willing to let the World ſee, that *Argyle* was not the Man his Highland Men believed him to be, and that it was impoſſible to beat him in his own Highlands. The difficulteſt March of all, was over the *Lochaber* Mountains, which we at laſt ſurmounted, and came upon the back of the Enemy when they leaſt ſuſpected us, having cut off ſome Scouts we met about four Miles from *Innerlochy*. Our Van came within view of them about five a clock in the Afternoon, and we made a halt till our Rear was got up, which could not be done till eight at Night. The Rebels took the Alarm, and ſtood to their Arms as well as we, all Night, which was Moon-light, and very clear. There were ſome few Skirmiſhes between the Rebels and us all the Night, and with no loſs on our ſide, but one Man. By Break of Day I order'd my Men to be ready to fall on upon the firſt Signal; and I underſtand ſince by the Priſoners, the Rebels did the ſame. A little after the Sun was up, both Armies met, and the Rebels fought for ſome time with great Bravery;

the Prime of the *Campbells* giving the firſt onſet, as Men that deſerv'd to fight in a better Cauſe. Our Men having a nobler Cauſe, did Wonders, and came immediately to puſh of Pike, and dint of Sword, after their firſt Firing. The Rebels could not ſtand it, but after ſome Reſiſtance at firſt, began to run, whom we purſu'd for nine Miles together, making a great Slaughter; which I would have hindred, if poſſible, that I might ſave your Majeſty's miſled Subjects; for well I know your Majeſty does not delight in their Blood, but in their returning to their Duty. There were at leaſt fifteen hundred kill'd in the Battle, and the Purſuit; among whom there are a great many of the moſt conſiderable Gentlemen of the Name of *Campbell*, and ſome of them nearly related to the Earl. I have ſav'd and taken Priſoners ſeveral of them, that have acknowledg'd to me their Fault, and lay all the blame on their Chief. Some Gentlemen of the Low-lands, that had behav'd themſelves bravely in the Battle, when they ſaw all loſt, fled into their old Caſtle; and upon their Surrender I have treated them honourably, and taken their Parole, never to bear Arms againſt your Majeſty. (*Here are ſix or ſeven Lines, that for the Honour of ſome Families, are better left out than mention'd.*) We have of your Majeſty's Army about two hundred wounded, but I hope few of them dangerouſly. I can hear but

of

of four kill'd, and one whom I cannot name to your Majeſty, but with Grief of Mind, Sir *Thomas Ogilvy*, a Son of the Earl of *Arly*'s, of whom I writ to your Majeſty in my laſt. He is not yet dead, but they ſay he cannot poſſibly live, and we give him over for dead. Your Majeſty had never a truer Servant, nor there never was a braver honeſter Gentleman. For the reſt of the Particulars of this Action, I refer my ſelf to the Bearer, Mr. *Hay*, whom your Majeſty knows already, and therefore I need not recommend him.

Now, *Sacred Sir*, Let me humbly intreat your Majeſty's Pardon, if I preſume to write you my poor Thoughts and Opinion about what I heard by a Letter I receiv'd from my Friends in the *South* laſt Week, as if your Majeſty was entring into a Treaty with your Rebel Parliament in *England*. The Succeſs of your Arms in *Scotland* does not more rejoice my Heart, as that News from *England* is like to break it. And whatever come of me I will ſpeak my Mind freely to your Majeſty; for it's not mine, but your Majeſty's Intereſt I ſeek. When I had the Honour of waiting upon your Majeſty laſt, I told you at full length what I fully underſtood of the Deſigns of your Rebel Subjects in both Kingdoms; which I had occaſion to know, as much as any one whatſoever, being at that time, as they thought, entirely in their Intereſt. Your Majeſty may

may remember how much you ſaid you were convinc'd I was in the right in my Opinion of them. I am ſure there is nothing fallen out ſince, to make your Majeſty change your Judgment in all thoſe things I laid before your Majeſty at that time. The more your Majeſty grants, the more will be aſk'd; and I have too much reaſon to know, that they will not reſt ſatisfy'd with leſs than making your Majeſty a King of Straw. I hope the News I have received about a Treaty, may be a miſtake; and the rather, that the Letter wherewith the Queen was pleas'd to honour me, dated the 30th of *December*, mentions no ſuch thing. Yet I know not what to make of the Intelligence I receiv'd, ſince it comes from Sir *Robert Spotſwood*, who writes it with a great Regret; and it's no wonder, conſidering no Man living is a more true Subject to your Majeſty, than he. Forgive me, *Sacred Sovereign*, to tell your Majeſty, That in my poor Opinion, it is unworthy of a King, to treat with Rebel Subjects while they have the Sword in their hands. And tho' God forbid I ſhould ſtint your Majeſty's Mercy, yet I muſt declare the horror I am in, when I think of a Treaty, while your Majeſty and they are in the Field with two Armies; unleſs they diſband, and ſubmit themſelves entirely to your Majeſty's Goodneſs and Pardon. As to the State of Affairs in this Kingdom, the Bearer will fully inform your Majeſty in every Par-

Particular. And give me leave, with all Humility, to aſſure your Majeſty, That through God's Bleſſing, I am in the faireſt Hopes of reducing this Kingdom to your Majeſty's Obedience. And if the Meaſures I have concerted with your other Loyal Subjects, fail me not, which they hardly can, I doubt not but before the end of this Summer, I ſhall be able to come to your Majeſty's Aſſiſtance with a brave Army; which, back'd with the Juſtice of your Majeſty's Cauſe, will make the Rebels in *England*, as well as in *Scotland*, feel the juſt Rewards of Rebellion. Only give me leave, after I have reduc'd this Country to your Majeſty's Obedience, and conquer'd from *Dan* to *Beerſheba*, to ſay to your Majeſty then, as *David*'s General did to his Maſter, *Come thou thy ſelf, leſt this Country be call'd by my Name.* For in all my Actions, I am only at your Majeſty's Honour and Intereſt, as becomes one that is to his laſt Breath,

May it pleaſe your ſacred Majeſty,

Innerlochy *in* Lochaber, *Feb.* 3. 1645.

Your Majeſty's moſt humble, moſt faithful, and moſt obedient Subject, and Servant,

Montroſs.

NUMB.

NUMB. XI.

The Addreſs of General Monk, *and his Officers, from* Scotland, *to the Parliament of* England, *againſt Monarchy, upon* Richard Cromwell's *Abdication.*

Memoirs, p. 106.

Right Honourable,

THAT a Nation may be born in a Day, is a Truth which this Day's Experience witneſſeth unto us, againſt all the Dictates of human Reaſon; and that a glorious Cauſe, whoſe Intereſt was laid low, (even in the Duſt) ſhould be in one Day reſtor'd to its Life and Luſtre, when almoſt all the Aſſerters of it had ſo manifeſtly declin'd it by a Defection of many Years, cannot be imputed to leſs than the greateſt and moſt powerful Manifeſtation of the Arm of God, that ever this, or former Generations ſaw, or heard of.

Whitlock's *Memoirs*, p. 679, 680.

In the ſenſe of this, (the greateſt of our temporal Mercies) we now come to addreſs to your Honours, as thoſe whoſe Preſence we have ſo long wanted, that had you ſtay'd but a little longer, it might have been left to be enquir'd what *England* was; we mean, what was become of that People, by whom God for ſo many Years fill'd the World with ſo much Admiration and Terror. But tho' this great Work be (as moſt juſtly it ought

ought to be) wonderful in our Eyes, yet when we conſider its Author, who calls things that are not, as if they were, bringeth down to the Pit, and raiſeth up again; we ſee that nothing is difficult to Faith, and the Promiſes of God are ſure and ſtable, even then, when in the Eye of Man no leſs than impoſſible.

We cannot but acknowledge, to our exceeding great Sorrow and Shame, that our ſelves (tho' we hope moſt of us, thro' Weakneſs and Frailty, not out of Deſign) have very much contributed to thoſe Provocations, which have caus'd God to depart from our *Iſrael*; and we could heartily wiſh, that even amongſt thoſe that help to make up your own Number, there had not been an helping Hand to this ſad and deplorable Work: But we ſee when God's Hour is come, and the Time of his People's Deliverance, (even the Set-time is at hand) he cometh ſkipping over all the Mountains of Sin and Unworthineſs, that we daily caſt in the way.

We are not willing to detain your Honours too long upon this Subject; and therefore beſeeching the God of all our Mercies, to heal the backſlidings of his People, and not to charge unto their Account, in this his Day of their Deliverance, their Miſcarriages whilſt they were wandering in dark and ſlippery Places, after the Imaginations of their own Hearts: We, with all Humility and

and Affection, in the firſt place, congratulate you in this your happy Reſtoration to the Government of theſe Nations; which God was pleas'd once ſo to own in your Hands, as to make you both the Praiſe and Wonder of the Earth, the Glory and Rejoicing of his People, and the Terror of your Adverſaries: And we acknowledge it a ſingular Condeſcenſion in you, in this Day of ſo great Difficulties, to take upon you ſo heavy a Burden. And ſeeing his late Highneſs hath been pleaſed to manifeſt ſo much Self-denial and Love to his Country, in appearing for the Intereſt thereof againſt his own; we humbly intreat, that ſome ſpeedy Care may be taken for him and his Family, (together with her Higneſs Dowager) that there may be ſuch an honourable Proviſion ſettled upon them, and ſuch other Dignities, as are ſuitable to the former great Services of that Family to theſe Nations. *Richard Cromwell*

And in the next place, we cannot but humbly beſeech you, now you have an Opportunity, than which a fitter your Hearts did never pray for, to finiſh the Work of Reformation that hath been ſo long upon the Wheel, and met with ſo great Obſtructions; that you would not heal the wound of the Daughter of God's People ſlightly, but make ſo ſure and laſting Proviſion for both their Chriſtian and Civil Rights, as that both this and future Generations may have cauſe

cauſe to riſe up, and call you bleſſed, and the blackeſt Deſigns may never be able to caſt Dirt in your Faces any more. And as helpful to theſe two great Concernments, Religion and Liberty, we humbly propoſe to your mature Conſiderations theſe two Deſires.

Firſt, that you would be pleas'd to countenance Godlineſs, and all the ſincere Profeſſors thereof, encourage an able and laborious Miniſtry, and ſuffer no other Yoke to be impos'd upon the Conſciences of God's People, than what may be agreeable to the Word of God; and that you would be a Terror to all impious, profane, and licentious People whatſoever.

Secondly, That you would ſo vindicate and aſſert the native Rights and Liberties of theſe Nations, in and by the Government of a *Free-State*, that there may not be the Voice of an oppreſſed one in our Land, but that all may enjoy the bleſſed Fruits of your righteous and peaceable Government. And for the Prevention of all Poſſibility for ambitious Spirits ever to work their Ends againſt you, we humbly deſire you to be very careful, as well what Perſons you entruſt with the Management of the Armies and Navies of this Commonwealth, as of the Meaſure of that Power and Authority, you depart with to them, or ſubſtitute in them. Touching the Qualifications of the Perſons, we deſire they may be truly godly

and conſcientious. Touching the Meaſure of their Authority, that it may be adequate to the Nature and Being of a *Commonwealth*. And whilſt you are thus pleading and aſſerting the Intereſt of God, and his People, you may reſt aſſured with greateſt Confidence, that we ſhall appear in your Defence, and the Vindication of your Authority, againſt the Oppoſition of all Arbitrary Powers whatſoever.

And to that bleſſed and all-powerful God, who is able to ſpirit you for this great Work, you are, and ſhall daily be recommended in the Prayers of,

Your moſt loyal, and moſt obedient Servants,

George Monk, *Thomas Read*, *Ralph Cobbet*, *Tim. Wilks*, *Robert Read*, *John Cloberry*, *Abra. Holms*, *Henr. Dorney*, *Dan. Daviſon*, *Rich. Heath*, *Mi. Richardſon*, *J. Hubbelthorn*, *Tho. Johnſon*, *P. Criſp*, *He. Brithman*, *Phil. Watſon*, *Tho. Dean*, *Jerem. Smith*, *Will. Davis*, *James Wright*, *Joſ. Wallinton*, *Will. Helling*, *Ethelb. Morgan*, *Rob. Winter*, *John Paddon*, *Anthony Nower*.

The Form of the Declaration and Engagement taken by General Monk, *and his Officers, againſt Monarchy, and the Family of the* Stuarts, *at his coming up from* Scotland.

Whitlock's *Memoirs*, p. 684.

I *A. B.* do hereby declare, That I do renounce the pretended Title of *Charles Stuart*, and the whole Line of the late King *James*, and of every other Perſon, as a ſingle Perſon, pretending to the Government of theſe Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging. And that I will, by the Grace and Aſſiſtance of Almighty God, be true, faithful, and conſtant to this Commonwealth, againſt any King, ſingle Perſon, and Houſe of Peers, and every of them; and hereunto I ſubſcribe my Name.

NUMB. XII.

Memoirs, *p.* 140.

King James *the IId's promiſing Speech to the Parliament*, May 30, 1685.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Thank you very heartily for the Bill you have preſented this Day; and I aſſure you, the Readineſs and Chearfulneſs that hath

hath attended the Diſpatch of it, is as acceptable to me, as the Bill it ſelf.

After ſo happy a Beginning, you may believe I would not call upon you unneceſſarily for an extraordinary Supply: But when I tell you the Stores of the Navy are extremely exhauſted; that the Anticipations upon ſeveral Branches of the Revenue are great and burdenſome; and the Debts of the King my Brother, to his Servants and Family, are ſuch as deſerve Compaſſion; that the Rebellion in *Scotland*, without putting more weight upon it than it really deſerves, muſt oblige me to a conſiderable Expence extraordinary: I am ſure ſuch Conſiderations will move you to give me an Aid to provide for thoſe Things, wherein the Security, the Eaſe, and the Happineſs of my Government are ſo much concern'd. But above all, I muſt recommend to you the Care of the Navy, the Strength and Glory of this Nation, that you will put it into ſuch a Condition *as will make us conſiderable, and reſpected abroad.* I cannot expreſs my Concerns upon this Occaſion more ſuitable to my own Thoughts of it, than by aſſuring you, I have a true *Engliſh* Heart, as jealous of the Honour of the Nation as you can be; and I pleaſe my ſelf with the Hopes, that by God's Bleſſing, and your Aſſiſtance, I may carry its Reputation yet higher in the World than ever it has been in the time of any of my Anceſtors.

And as I will not call upon you for Supplies, but when they are of publick Uſe and Advantage, ſo I promiſe you, That what you give me upon ſuch Occaſions, ſhall be manag'd with good Huſbandry; and I will take care it ſhall be employ'd to the Uſes for which I aſk them.

NUMB. XIII.

Memoirs, p. 141. *Two remarkable Letters of a Foreign Miniſter to their Ambaſſador in* England, *relating to King* James's *preceding Speech.* Tranſlated from the Originals.

Monſieur, *Paris June* 29, 1685.

THE Copy of his *B. M.*'s Speech to the Parliament inclos'd in yours of the 9th Inſtant, *S. V.* affords ſufficient Matter of Thoughts here. It is of a Strain that looks quite contrary to what we expected, or what you your ſelf in yours of the 11th of the laſt Month made us believe it would be. The King can ſcarce believe there is any Change in the Affections of that Prince towards him, and yet knows not what to make of that new manner of expreſſing himſelf on ſo publick an Occaſion. If he and his Parliament come to a cordial Truſt in one another, it may probably change

change all the Meaſures we have been ſo long concerting for the Glory of our Monarch, and the Eſtabliſhment of the Catholick Religion. For my own part, I hope the Acceſſion of a Crown has not leſſen'd the Zeal that on all Occaſions appear'd in him, when but Duke of *York*. Nor will the King's inviolable Attachment to the Intereſt of the Duke in the moſt difficult Emergents, permit him now, when King, to forget his Obligations and Engagements to him. There are better things to be hoped for, from one that has run ſo great Hazards upon the account of his Religion, and who has ſo often expreſs'd his Reſentments of the good Turns the King did him in his Brother's Life-time.

Yet it's fit you take all poſſible care to ſearch into the Motives and Adviſers of this Speech: And I am commanded to tell you, that this is one of the greateſt pieces of Service you can do his Majeſty in this Juncture. There are not wanting ſome here, that would attribute it to a Change in the King of *England*'s Inclinations; and they pretend to have hints of it from ſome about his Perſon. What Truth is in this Suggeſtion, you are to ſpare nothing to find out. If the Parliament come once to ſettle a Revenue upon him, ſuch as may put him out of our Reverence, your Buſineſs there will be the more difficult to manage; for doubtleſs he muſt have Ambition, and likewiſe a Deſire to pleaſe a Nation, who had but an

ill Opinion of him before: And nothing can be more taking with them, than a Breach with us. It will be ſtrange indeed, if in the Death of King *Charles*, *France* has chang'd for the worſe. But whatever others fear, I muſt once more confeſs for my ſelf, that I am of the ſame Opinion I was always of, even that we muſt neceſſarily gain by the Change. Your Bills are ſent this Poſt. Nothing can be more earneſtly recommended to you in his Majeſty's Name, than a narrow Enquiry into this Affair, by

Monſieur,

Your moſt humble Servant.

The other runs thus.

Monſieur, *July* 8. 1685.

IT's unlucky, that hitherto you have not been able to find out what we are to expect from this Change in *England*. In yours of the 13th of the laſt Month, *S. V.* you ſeem to call in queſtion that King's Inclinations to the common Cauſe; and you ſurprize us with your Fears, that he may come to forget his Obligations to the King. With the ſame Poſt we receiv'd better News from a ſure hand; yet you are to watch as narrowly as if your Fears were well-grounded. There is great Matter in dependance, with

with relation to the Edict of *Nants*, which muſt not be declar'd, till that King's Inclinations be fully known. And yet there is nothing in the World the King deſires more eagerly to ſee done than it, if once it might be done ſafely. Receive inclos'd an Anſwer to every one of your Queries, which make uſe of, as occaſion offers. Only the laſt is referr'd to your own Diſcretion, it depending entirely upon your own Knowledge of the Perſon: If he can be brought in, it will be a notable piece of Service. Much may be known, by enquiring exactly how the Prince of *Orange* ſtands in the King's Affections, and how the Miniſters are affected towards him. For the *Hollanders* in general, he ſeem'd on all Occaſions neither to love, nor fear them. Nothing has fallen out of late to alter his Mind. On *Friday* Monſieur *Leſſe* comes off, who is to ſhew you his Diſpatches, and you are to act in concert with him.

I am, &c.

NUMB. XIV.

Some Paſſages out of the Duke of Monmouth's *Pocket-Book, that was ſeiz'd about him in the* Weſt. *An Original.* Memoirs, p. 147.

Oct. 13. L. Came to me at eleven at Night from 29, told me

29 could never be brought to believe I knew any thing of that part of the Plot that concern'd *Rye-Houſe*; but as things went, he muſt behave himſelf as if he did believe it, for ſome Reaſons that might be for my Advantage. *L.* deſir'd me to write to 29, which I refus'd; but afterwards told me, 29 expected it: And I promis'd to write to-morrow, if he could call for the Letter; at which *S. L.* ſhew'd a great Concern for me, and I believe him ſincere, though 3 is of another Mind.

14. *L.* came as he promis'd, and receiv'd the Letter from 3 ſealed, refuſing to read it himſelf, tho' I had left it open with *S.* for that purpoſe.

20. *L.* came to me at *S.* with a Line or two from 29 very kind, aſſuring me he believed every word in my Letter to be true; and adviſed me to keep hid, till he had an Opportunity to expreſs his Belief of it ſome other way. *L.* told me, that he was to go out of Town next Day; and that 29 would ſend 80 to me in a Day or two, whom he aſſur'd me I might truſt.

25. *L.* came for me to——, where 29 was with 80. He received me pretty well, and ſaid 30 and 50 were the Cauſes of my Misfortune, and would ruin me. After ſome hot words againſt them, and againſt *S.* went away in a good Humour.

26. I went to E——, and was in danger of being diſcover'd by ſome of *Ogleſthorp*'s Men,

Men, that met me accidentally at the Back-door of the Garden.

Nov. 2. A Letter from 29, to be to-morrow at ſeven at Night at *S.* and no body to know it but 80.

3. He came not, there being an extraordinary Council. But 80 brought me a Copy of 50's intercepted Letter, which made rather for me than againſt me. Bid me come to-morrow at the ſame Hour, and to ſay nothing of the Letter, except 29 ſpoke of it firſt.

4. I came, and found 29 and *L.* there. He was very kind, and gave me Directions how to manage my Buſineſs, and what Words I ſhould ſay to 39. He appointed 80 to come to me every Night till my Buſineſs was ripe, and promis'd to ſend with him Directions from time to time.

9. *L* came from 29, and told me my Buſineſs ſhould be done to my Mind next Week, and the ♀ was my Friend, and had ſpoke to 39 and *D.* in my Behalf; which he ſaid 29 took very kindly, and had expreſſed ſo to her. At parting he told me there ſhould be nothing required of me, but what was both ſafe and honourable. But ſaid there muſt be ſomething done to blind 39.

15. *L.* came to me with the Copy of a Letter I was to ſign to pleaſe 39. I deſir'd to know in whoſe Hands it was to be depoſited; for I would have it in no Hands but 29. He told me it ſhould be ſo; but if 39

aſk'd a Copy, it could not well be refus'd. I refer'd my ſelf entirely to 29's Pleaſure.

24. *L.* came to me from 29, and order'd me to render my ſelf to-morrow. Caution'd me to play my part, to avoid Queſtions as much as poſſible, and to ſeem abſolutely converted to 39's Intereſt. Bad me bear with ſome Words that might ſeem harſh.

25. I render'd my ſelf. At Night 29 could not diſſemble his Satisfaction, preſs'd my Hand; which I remember not he did before, except when I return'd from the *French* Service. 29 acted his Part well, and I too. 39 and *D.* ſeem'd not ill pleas'd.

26. 29 took me aſide, and falling upon the Buſineſs of L. *R.* ſaid he inclin'd to have ſav'd him, but was forc'd to it, otherwiſe he muſt have broke with 39. Bid me think no more on't. Coming home, *L.* told me he fear'd 39 began to ſmell out 29's Carriage. That——ſaid to 39 that Morning, that all that was done was but Sham.

27. Several told me of the Storm that was brewing. *Rumſey* was with 39, and was ſeen to come out crying, that he muſt accuſe a Man he lov'd.

Dec. 19. A Letter from 29, bidding me ſtay till I heard farther from him.

Jan. 5. I receiv'd a Letter from *L.* marked by 29 in the Margin, to truſt intirely in 10; and that in *February* I ſhould certainly have leave to return. That Matters were concerted towards it; and that 39 had

no

no Suſpicion, notwithſtanding of my Reception here.

Feb. 3. A Letter from *L.* that my Buſineſs was almoſt as well as done; but muſt be ſo ſudden, as not to leave room for 39's Party to counterplot. That it is probable he would chuſe *Scotland* rather than *Flanders*, or this Country; which was all one to 29.

16. The ſad News of his Death by *L.* *O cruel Fate!*

Note, That by 29 and 39, King *Charles* and the Duke of *York* ſeem to be meant. But I know not what to make of the other Numbers and Letters, and muſt leave the Reader to his own Conjectures.

NUMB. XV.

A Letter of the late Duke of Monmouth's, *writ in his Retirement in* Holland, *a little before his Attempt in the* Weſt. *An Original.* Memoirs, *p.* 150.

I Receiv'd both yours together this Morning, and cannot delay you my Anſwer longer than this Poſt, tho' I am afraid it will not pleaſe you ſo much as I heartily wiſh it may. I have weigh'd all your Reaſons, and every thing that you and my other Friends have writ me upon that Subject; and have done it with the greateſt Inclinations to follow your Advice, and without Prejudice. You may well believe I have had

time enough to reflect ſufficiently upon our preſent State, eſpecially ſince I came hither. But whatever way I turn my Thoughts, I find inſuperable Difficulties. Pray do not think it an Effect of Melancholy, for that was never my greateſt Fault, when I tell you, That in theſe three Weeks Retirement in this Place, I have not only look'd back, but forward; and the more I conſider our preſent Circumſtances, I think them ſtill the more deſperate, unleſs ſome unforeſeen Accident fall out, which I cannot divine nor hope for. (*here follow ſixteen Lines all in Cyphers.*) Judge then what we are to expect, in caſe we ſhould venture upon any ſuch Attempt at this time. It's to me a vain Argument, that our Enemies are ſcarce yet well ſettled, when you conſider that Fear in ſome, and Ambition in others, have brought them to comply; and that the Parliament being made up for the moſt part of Members that formerly run our Enemies down, they will be ready to make their Peace as ſoon as they can, rather than hazard themſelves upon an uncertain Bottom. I gave you but Hints of what, if I had time, I would write you at more length: But that I may not ſeem obſtinate in my own Judgment, or neglect the Advice of my Friends, I will meet you at the Time and Place appointed. But for God's ſake, think in the mean time of the Improbabilities that lie naturally in our way; and let us not, by ſtruggling with our Chains, make

make them ſtraiter and heavier. For my part, I'll run the hazard of being thought any thing, rather than a raſh inconſiderate Man. And to tell you my Thoughts without diſguiſe, I am now ſo much in love with a retir'd Life, that I am never like to be fond of *making a Buſtle in the World again.* I have much more to ſay, but the Poſt cannot ſtay; and I refer the reſt till meeting, being entirely

Yours.

NUMB. XVI.

King James *II's. remarkable Speech to the Parliament, after the Duke of* Monmouth's *Defeat.* Memoirs, *p.* 152.

My Lords and Gentlmen,

AFter the Storm that ſeem'd to be coming upon us when we parted laſt, I am glad to meet you all again in ſo great Peace and Quietneſs; God Almighty be prais'd, by whoſe Bleſſing that Rebellion was ſuppreſs'd. But when I reflect what an inconſiderable number of Men began it, and how long they carry'd it on without any Oppoſition, I hope every body will be convinc'd, that the Militia, which hath hitherto been ſo much depended on, is not ſufficient for ſuch occaſions; and that there is nothing but a good Force of well-diſciplin'd

plin'd Troops, in conſtant Pay, that can defend us from ſuch, as either at home or abroad are diſpos'd to diſturb us. And in truth, my Concern for the Peace and Quiet of my Subjects, as well as for the Safety of the Government, made me think it neceſſary to increaſe the number to the Proportion I have done. This I ow'd, as well to the Honour, as to the Security of the Nation, whoſe Reputation was ſo infinitely expos'd to all our Neighbours, by having lain open to this late wretched Attempt, that it is not to be repair'd without keeping ſuch a Body of Men on foot, that none may ever have the Thought again, of finding us ſo miſerably unprovided. It is for the Support of this great Charge, which is now more than double to what it was, that I ask your Aſſiſtance in giving me a Supply anſwerable to the Expence it brings along with it. And I cannot doubt but what I have begun, ſo much for the Honour and Defence of the Government, will be continu'd by you with all the chearfulneſs and readineſs that is requiſite for a work of ſo great Importance.

Let no Man take Exceptions, that there are ſome Officers in the Army, not qualify'd, according to the late Teſts, for their Employments. The Gentlemen, I muſt tell you, are moſt of them well known to me; and having formerly ſerv'd with me in ſeveral Occaſions, and always approv'd the Loyalty of their Prin-

Principles by their Practice, I think them fit now to be employ'd under me: And will deal plainly with you, that after having had the benefit of their Services in ſuch time of Need and Danger, I will neither expoſe them to Diſgrace, nor my ſelf to the want of them, if there ſhould be another Rebellion to make them neceſſary to me.

I am afraid ſome Men may be ſo wicked to hope and expect, that a difference may happen between you and me upon this Occaſion: But when you conſider what advantages have ariſen to us in a few Months, by the good Underſtanding we have hitherto had; what wonderful Effects it hath already produc'd in the Change of the whole Scene of Affairs abroad, ſo much more to the Honour of the Nation, and the Figure it ought to make in the World; and that nothing can hinder a farther Progreſs in this way, to all our Satisfaction, but Fears and Jealouſies amongſt our ſelves: I will not apprehend, that ſuch a Misfortune can befal us, as a Diviſion, or but a Coldneſs between me and you; nor that any thing can ſhake you in your Steddineſs and Loyalty to me, who by God's Bleſſing will ever make you all returns of Kindneſs and Protection with a Reſolution to venture even my own Life in the defence of the true Intereſt of this Kingdom.

NUMB. XVII.

Memoirs, p. 155. *Some Paſſages of a Letter from a foreign Miniſter, to their Ambaſſador in* England, *upon the Occaſion of the King's Speech immediately preceding; dated* November 29. 1685. *Done from the Original.*

WE are now out of pain about the King's Intentions. This laſt Speech to the Parliament hath ſufficiently clear'd all our Doubts, together with what—— has writ upon that Subject. It's no more than what I really expected: for I had all ways a better opinion of him, than to think he could bear tamely the Fetters which Hereticks would endeavour to impoſe upon him. For the time to come, I hope he will act *en Maiſtre.* Your Conduct there pleaſes extremely; and above all, your laſt Diſpatch about what paſs'd at your Audience. All you have promis'd ſhall be made good to a tittle; and it's hop'd, that others will be as zealous to keep their Promiſes to us. The inclos'd you muſt deliver, but not till you ſee the Perſon has deſerv'd it; for I am more and more perſuaded, as well as you, that we cannot be too much upon the reſerve with him, *&c.*

NUMB. XVIII.

The Harangue of the Rector of the Jesuits College at Rome, *to the Earl of* Castlemain, *upon his Embassy to the Pope.*

Noveau Voyage d' Italie, *p.* 259, 260. Memoirs, *p.* 163.

IN tanto strepitu Mundi plaudentis gratulantisque tuo in Urbem adventui, hoc est immortalibus *JACOBI* II. Magnæ Britanniæ Regis, in Catholicam Ecclesiam meritis, Gregorianum hoc Palladis Athenæum, nec debuit tacere nec potuit. Quamobrem, ego Literariæ hujus Universitatis nomine, primo gratulor *INNOCENTI* XI. felicitati, quod ipso regnante, Pontificio accesserit Diademati Augusta hæc & Triumphalis Corona; unde illud cum Apostolo usurpare jure Merito valeat, *Gaudium meum, & Corona mea.* Hunc lætissimum ferre Mortalibus Diem, longissimi ævi spatio distulerunt Superi, tum ut diuturnis Terrarum votis ingentia hæc Cœli dona responderent, tum ut simul invenirent regnantem in Anglia Jacobum II. Romæ Innocentium XI. Gratulor quoque Christiano Orbi, nec non Catholicis Regibus, quod tanto Dominatore Britannorum Sceptra gerente, tam grande advenerit, & ipsorum Coronis adversus Christiani nominis hostes munimentum, & Orthodoxæ Fidei ornamentum. Imminent quippe ab invictissimi Regis Classibus, tum Lybicis

Lybicis prædonibus, tum Aſiæ & Paleſtinæ Littoribus, flammarum procellæ, magis metuendæ quam Maris. At Tibi, Oceani Regina Magna Britannia, quæ a noſtro olim Orbe diviſa, nunc gemini facis commercia Mundi; quid non liceat ominari fauſtitatis ſub tanto Principe! Erige ſpes, erige vota; nec timeas ſi maxima, ſed niſi maxima. Non libet in die hac fauſtiſſima commemorare quam lugubres paſſa fueris unius amplius ſeculi ſpatios, toto Orbe Terrarum admirante atque ingemiſcente, cataſtrophas. Sed ſi hæc una erat via, qua Jacobus II. Britanniæ ſolium aſcenderet, prope eſt ut exclamem, tanti fuiſſe. Profecto invidebit Tibi Poſteritas, non modo præſentium temporum felicitatem, ſed & præteritorum Calamitates tam grandi mercede redemptas: eaque quibus nunc frueris bona, etſi poſt ingens a Te pretium perſolutum Tibi reddita fuerint, non a Te coempta arbitrabitur, ſed quadam Superûm prodigentia dona data. Tibi demum gratulor, præſtantiſſime Orator, quod tam fauſtum diem, & videris in Anglia, & detuleris in Urbem. Nam de Sapientia tua qua per eruditiſſimos libros Hæreſim profligaſti, nihil attinet dicere: nihil de Fortitudine, qua Carceres ipſos pro Catholica Religione tuenda, non tam pertuliſti, quam decoraſti: nil de Prudentia, Nobilitate, cæteriſque dotibus tuis. Hoc unum univerſa tua decora comprehendit, quod ad maximum totius Regni negotium, hoc eſt; ut ſplendidiſſima

funge-

fungerer is apud Innocentium P. M. legatione, Jacobus II. Magnæ Britanniæ Rex maximus, te unum elegit, quia unus dignus erat eligi, alter eligere.

The Speech of the Rector of the College of Jesuits, to his Excellency Roger, *Earl of* Castlemain.

SIR,

YOU muſt not think this College alone can be mute; and if they could, their Silence muſt be a Crime, at a time when this City is fill'd with univerſal Joy, upon the News of your Excellency's arrival; and all Places reſound the Praiſes of *James* II. and the Obligations the Catholick Church has to that illuſtrious Prince. I, in the Name of this Learned Body, do in the firſt place congratulate thee, *Innocent*, in whoſe Reign this flouriſhing Imperial Crown is added to the Papal Diadem. It is now your Holineſs can properly uſe that Apoſtolick Expreſſion, *My Joy, and my Crown*. Heaven has deferr'd this happy Day thus long, that ſo great a Bleſſing might not be obtain'd, without long and unweary'd Prayers; and at laſt effected, when two ſuch Princes as *James* and *Innocent* ſhould concur to reign, the one in *England*, and the other in *Rome*. What a ſupport have all Catholick Kings gain'd by this Acceſſion! What

an

an Honour has the Orthodox Faith receiv'd, and what a Defence againſt the Enemies of the Name of Chriſt! The Thunder of his invincible Fleet will ſtrike greater Terror into the Pirates of *Barbary* and the *Levant*, than Storms and Waves can do. How highly bleſs'd art thou, O *Britain!* Empreſs of the Ocean, once ſecluded from the Earth, now Miſtreſs of the Commerce of the *Eaſtern* and *Weſtern* World? What Proſperity may'ſt thou not hope for, under the Reign of ſo excellent a Prince? Raiſe thy Hopes, raiſe thy Courage; and baniſh all unjuſt and unſeaſonable Fears. I have no Inclination at this time, to recount thoſe Diſaſters and Calamities of which *England* has been the Theatre for above an Age paſt, to the Grief and Aſtoniſhment of the reſt of the World. But if Providence have made theſe the Steps for *James* II. to mount the Throne, I can hardly refrain declaring how cheaply thou haſt purchas'd ſo great a Bleſſing. It is certain their preſent Happineſs will create Envy in ſucceeding Times; and however dear it has coſt them, Poſterity will eſteem it more the Bounty and Profuſion of Heaven, than a Recompence of their Sufferings. In the laſt place, I muſt congratulate your Excellency, who has firſt ſeen this happy Day at home, and has next been the Meſſenger to bring it hither. I ſhall not here preſume to praiſe your great Wiſdom, your Learned Writings againſt Hereſy, that ſteddy Courage you have

have ſhewn in thoſe many Priſons you have honour'd, for your Zeal to the true Religion; your prudent Conduct, or your other extraordinary Qualities. All theſe are ſumm'd up in one; and your Character is in fine compleated, by the Choice your Great Maſter has made of you, to ſuſtain the moſt conſiderable Affair of his Kingdom, the preſent glorious Embaſſy, in which all the World muſt own him to be the moſt competent Judge, and you the fitteſt Perſon.

NUMB. XIX.

The Anſwer of the Vice-Preſident, and Fellows of Magdalen-College, Oxon, *before the Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners; Why they could not in Conſcience comply with the King's Mandate.* Memoirs, *p.* 180.

THE ſaid Vice-Preſident, and other deputed Fellows, anſwer'd and ſaid, That the ſaid College of St. *Mary-Magdalen* in *Oxon*, is a Body Corporate, govern'd by local Statutes, granted and confirm'd to them by his Majeſty's Royal Predeceſſor, King *Henry* VI. for him and his Heirs and Succeſſors, under the Great Seal of *England*; which are alſo ſince confirm'd by ſeveral other Letters Patents of others of his Majeſty's Royal Predeceſſors, under the Great Seal

Seal of *England*. That by the ſaid Statutes of the College, (to the Obſervation of which each Fellow is ſworn) it is order'd, That the Perſon elected Preſident thereof, ſhall be a Man of good Life and Reputation, approv'd Underſtanding, and good Temper, diſcreet, provident, and circumſpect, both in Spiritual and Temporal Affairs. And at the time of Election of a Preſident, the ſaid Fellows are bound, by the ſaid Statutes, to take an Oath, that they ſhall nominate none to that Office, but ſuch as are, or have been Fellows of the ſaid College, or of *New-College* in *Oxon*; or if they are not actually Fellows at that time of Election, that they be ſuch as have left their Fellowſhips in their reſpective Colleges upon credible accounts. And when two qualify'd Perſons ſhall be nominated at the time of Election, by the greater Number of all the Fellows, to the ſaid Office of Preſident; the thirteen Seniors alſo ſwear, that they will elect one of them, whom in their Conſciences they think moſt proper and ſufficient, moſt diſcreet, moſt uſeful, and beſt qualify'd for the Place; without any regard to Love, Hatred, Favour, or Fear. And every Fellow, when he is firſt admitted into his Fellowſhip in the ſaid College, ſwears that he will inviolably keep and obſerve all the Statutes and Ordinances of the College, and every thing therein contain'd, ſo far as does, or may concern him; according to the plain, lite-

ral, and grammatical Senſe and Meaning thereof; and as much as in him lies, will cauſe the ſame to be kept and obſerv'd by others; and that he will not procure any Diſpenſation, contrary to his aforeſaid Oath, or any part thereof, nor contrary to the Statutes and Ordinances to which it relates, or any of them; nor will he endeavour that ſuch Diſpenſations ſhall be procur'd by any other, or others, publickly or privately, directly or indirectly. And if it ſhall happen, that any Diſpenſation of this ſort, of whatſoever Authority it ſhall be, whether in general or particular, or under what Form of Words ſoever it be granted, that he will neither make uſe of it, nor in any ſort conſent thereunto. That upon notice of the Death of Dr. *Clark*, late Preſident of the ſaid College, the Vice-Preſident called a Meeting of the ſaid Fellows, in order to the appointing a Day for the Election of a new Preſident; and the 13th of *April* was the time prefix'd, with Power to prorogue the ſame as they ſhould ſee cauſe, till the 15th, beyond which time they could not ſtatutably defer their Election: And in purſuance thereof, a Citation, and Premonition, was fix'd upon the Chappel-door of the ſaid College, ſignifying the ſame, and by which the abſent Fellows were ſummon'd to repair home, as the Statute in the Caſe requires. And the ſaid Vice-Preſident, and other deputed Fellows farther ſay, That on the 11th of

of *April* aforeſaid, they received his Majeſty's Letters Mandatory, to elect and admit Mr. *Anthony Framer* Preſident of the ſaid College. But foraſmuch as the ſaid Vice-Preſident, and Fellows, apprehended the Right of Election to be in them, and believ'd his Majeſty never intended to diſpoſſeſs them of their Rights; and foraſmuch as the ſaid Mr. *Farmer* had never been Fellow either of *Magdalen* or *New-College* in *Oxon*, and had not thoſe Qualifications which in and by the ſaid Statutes of the College are required in the Character of a Preſident, as they in their Conſciences did, or do verily believe; and in regard that they could not comply with his Majeſty's Letter, without the Violation of their Oaths, and hazard of their legal Intereſt and Property, wherewith they are by the Statutes poſſeſs'd, and which by their Oaths they are bound to maintain; they repreſented the ſame by their humble Petition to his Majeſty: and having deferred their Election of a Preſident to the laſt Day limited by their Statutes, then they proceeded to Election, and having firſt receiv'd the Euchariſt, and taken the ſaid Oaths, as the Statutes enjoin, to chuſe a Perſon ſo qualify'd as is before expreſſed, they did elect the reverend Mr. *John Hough*, B. D. and one of the Fellows of their College, a Perſon every way qualify'd to be Preſident; who has been ſince confirm'd by

the Biſhop of *Winton*, their Viſitor, as the Statutes of the ſaid College direct.

And that they might not die under his Majeſty's Diſpleaſure by their Proceedings, they did, on the 19th of *April*, make an humble Repreſentation thereof to his Majeſty, by his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Oxon*, ſetting forth their indiſpenſable Obligations to obſerve their Founder's Statutes.

All which Matters the Vice-Preſident and other deputed Fellows do humbly offer to your Lordſhips, and pray to be diſmiſs'd with your Lordſhips Favour.

NUMB. XX.

The Petition of the ſaid Vice-Preſident, and Fellows, offer'd to King James. Memoirs, *p.* 180.

Humbly ſheweth,

THAT upon the 27th of *Auguſt* we receiv'd your Majeſty's Letters Mandatory, dated *Auguſt* the 14th, requiring us to admit the Right Reverend Father in God, *Samuel* Lord Biſhop of *Oxon*, to be our Preſident, and diſpenſing with all Statutes and Conſtitutions to the contrary. It is an inexpreſſible Affliction to us, to find ourſelves reduced to ſuch an Extremity, that either we muſt diſobey your Majeſty's Royal Command, contrary to our own Inclinations,

and that conſtant Courſe of Loyalty, which we have ſhew'd in all Inſtances hitherto, upon all Occaſions whatſoever; or elſe break our Founder's Statutes, and deliberately perjure our ſelves.

For our Founder hath oblig'd us, under Oath, when we came in Fellows, inviolably to obſerve his Statutes; and one Clauſe therein enjoins us never to admit, or make uſe of Diſpenſation, granted by any Authority whatſoever, whereby we may be abſolv'd from the ſame. In this Statute, for the Election of a Preſident, he commands us upon Oath to elect ſuch a Perſon into the place of Preſident within fifteen Days after the Vacancy, who either is, or has been Fellow of our own, or *New-College*; which we repreſented to your Majeſty in our humble Petition, ſign'd *April* 9th, wherein we offer'd our ſelves ready to elect any Perſon, capable of the ſame, whom your Majeſty ſhould be pleas'd to recommend; and having waited the utmoſt time limited by our Statutes, and receiv'd no Anſwer to that effect, we did then, according to the Exigency of our Statutes, (having firſt taken the Holy Euchariſt, and our ſeveral Oaths to that purpoſe) nominate and elect ſuch a Perſon, as we in our Conſciences did believe to be every way qualified for that Place; by which Act of ours, we have convey'd all that Right to him, which our Founder hath entruſted with us; and it does not lie

in our power to admit any other. Our Founder in another Statute obligeth us under the pain of Perjury, a dreadful Anathema, and eternal Damnation, not to ſuffer any of his Statutes to be alter'd, infring'd, or diſpenſ'd with; and commands us under the ſame Sacred Obligations, not to execute any Orders or Decree whatſoever, contrary or repugnant to the ſaid Statutes: by which ſaid Statutes and Oaths, we are utterly incapacitated to admit the ſaid Reverend Father in God to be our Preſident.

May it pleaſe your Sacred Majeſty, to give us leave to lay this our Caſe, and our ſelves, with all Submiſſion, at your Royal Feet; moſt earneſtly beſeeching your Sacred Majeſty, to extend to us your humble Petitioners, the Grace and Tenderneſs which your Majeſty hath vouchſafed to all your other Subjects; and not to believe us guilty of any Obſtinacy, or Undutifulneſs, Crimes which our Souls abhor, but to receive us into your Majeſty's Grace and Favour, the greateſt Temporal Bleſſing which our Hearts can wiſh.

And your humble Petitioners ſhall always (as in Duty bound) pray to Almighty God, to bleſs your Majeſty with a long and happy Reign over us, and afterwards to receive you to an immortal Crown of Glory.

NUMB. XXI.

Memoirs, p. 196. *A Copy of a Letter of the* Iriſh *Clergy to King* James, *in favour of the Earl of* Tyrconnel; *found among Biſhop* Tyrrel's *Papers in* Dublin.

SIR,

The State of Ireland *under King* James, *by Dr.* King, *p.* 294, 295.

SINCE it has pleas'd the Almighty Providence, by placing your Majeſty in the Throne of your Anceſtors, to give you both Authority and Occaſion of exerciſing thoſe Royal Vertues which alone do merit, and would acquire you the Crown to which you were born; we, though comprehended in the general Clemency and Indulgence which you extend to the reſt of our Fellow-Subjects, are nevertheleſs ſo remote from your Majeſty's Preſence, that our Prayers can have no Acceſs to you, but by a Mediator. And ſince, of all others, the Earl of *Tyrconnel* did firſt eſpouſe, and chiefly maintain, theſe twenty five Years laſt paſt, the Cauſe of your poor oppreſs'd Roman Catholick Clergy, againſt our many and powerful Adverſaries, and is now the only Subject of your Majeſty, under whoſe Fortitude and Popularity in this Kingdom, we dare chearfully, and with Aſſurance, own our Loyalty, and aſſert your Majeſty's Intereſt; we make it our humble Suit to your Majeſty, that

that you will be pleas'd to lodge your Authority over us in his hands, to the terror of the Factious, and encouragement of your faithful Subjects here; ſince his Dependance on your Majeſty is ſo great, that we doubt not but that they will receive him with ſuch Acclamations, as the long-captiv'd *Iſraelites* did their Redeemer *Mordecai*. And ſince your Majeſty, in Glory and Power, does equal the mighty *Ahaſhuerus*, and the Vertue and Beauty of your Queen, is as true a Parallel to his ador'd *Heſter*, we humbly beſeech ſhe may be heard as our great Patroneſs, againſt that *Haman*, whoſe Pride and Ambition of being honour'd as his Maſter, may have hitherto kept us in Slavery. And tho' we wiſh none the Fate of ſo dreadful an Example, but rather a timely Penitence and Converſion, we yet humbly crave your Majeſty's Protection againſt all ſuch, if it may conſiſt with your Royal Wiſdom and Pleaſure; to which we with all Humility ſubmit, in the eſtabliſhing of the ſaid Earl of *Tyrconnel* in ſuch Authority here, as may ſecure us in the Exerciſe of our Function, to the Honour of God, and offering up our Prayers and Sacrifice for the Continuation of your Majeſty's long and proſperous Reign over us.

Dublin, *the* of July, 1685.

Your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Obedient Subjects.

NUMB. XXII.

Memoirs, p. 204. State of *Ireland*, &c. p. 430, 431.

Colonel Luttrel's *Order, forbidding above five Proteſtants meeting any where*, &c.

By the Governor of Dublin, *June* 18. 1690.

WHereas ſeveral diſaffected Perſons of the Proteſtant Religion, are of late come to this City of *Dublin*, and ſome of them arm'd with Swords, Piſtols, and other Weapons, contrary to his Majeſty's expreſs Commands by his Royal Proclamation, bearing Date the 20th day of *July* 1689.

I. Theſe are therefore to will and require all Men whatſoever of the Proteſtant Religion, now reſiding or being within the ſaid City of *Dublin*, or within the Liberties of St. *Sepulchre Donnor*, or *Thomas Court*, who are not Houſe-keepers, or have not follow'd ſome lawful Vocation therein theſe three Months paſt, to depart within twenty four hours after the Publication hereof, out of the ſaid City and Liberties, and repair to their reſpective Habitations, or uſual Places of Abode in the Country, upon pain of Death, or Impriſonment, and to be farther proceeded againſt as Contemners of his Majeſty's Royal Commands, and as Perſons de-

deſigning the Diſturbance of the publick Peace.

II. And likewiſe, that all Proteſtants within the ſaid City and Liberties, not being of his Majeſty's moſt honourable Privy-Council, nor in his Army, or actual Service, ſhall, within the time aforeſaid, deliver up all their Arms, both offenſive and defenſive, and all their Ammunition, into his Majeſty's Stores in the ſaid City, upon Pain of Death.

III. And that no Proteſtant whatſoever do preſume, at his Peril, to walk or go in the Streets, from ten of the Clock at Night, till five in the Morning, nor at any time when there is an Alarm. In which caſe, all ſuch Perſons are requir'd, for their Safety, and for the Security of the Publick, to keep within Doors, till ſuch an Alarm is over.

IV. And laſtly, For the prevention of Riots and unlawful Aſſemblies, theſe are therefore to will and require all the ſaid Proteſtants, that no greater number of them than five ſhall meet and converſe at any time, either in any Houſe within the ſaid City or Liberties, over and above the Family of the Houſe, or in the Streets and Fields in and about the ſame, or elſewhere; hereby declaring, that all Perſons who ſhall offend againſt any Clauſe in this preſent Order, ſhall ſuffer Death, or ſuch other Puniſhment, as a Court-Martial ſhall think fit.

NUMB. XXIII.

Memoirs, *p.* 213. Memoirs pour ſervir a l' Hiſtoire de la Paix de Ryſwick, par du Mont, Tom. 2. p. 66, 67.

The French *King's Declaration, publiſh'd at his Camp at* Arnheim, *to oblige the* Hollanders *to ſurrender their Country to him*, Anno 1672.

De par le Roy.

SA Majeſté conſiderant combien il a plû à Dieu de benir ſes juſtes deſſeins, & faire proſperer les enterpriſes, qu'il a faites depuis ſon arrivée à la Campagne; Et voulant traiter avec la derniere douceur les Peuples des Provinces, où elle pourra etendre ſes Victoires: & afin de leur faire ſcavoir ce qu'ils auront à faire pour ſe rendre dignes de ſes bontez, ſa Majeſté a fait declarer, & déclare par la preſente, que tous les Habitans des Villes de Hollande, qui ſe rendront voluntairement à ſon obéiſance, & receyront les Troupes, qu'elle trouvera bon de leur envoyer pour leur ſûreté & pour leur defenſe, ſeront non ſeulement traitez auſſi favorablement qu'ils pourroient deſirer; mais auſſi ſeront maintenus dans tous leurs Privileges & Franchiſes, & auront toute Liberté de Conſcience avec le libre exercice de luer Religion.

Mais, au contraire, que ceux qui ne ſe voudront pas ſoûmettre, de quelque qualité

ou

ou condition qu'ils ſoient, tâcheront de reſiſter aux forces de ſa Majeſté par l'inondation de leurs Digues, ou autrement, ſeront punis de la derniere rigueur. Et cependant on exercera toutes ſortes d' hoſtilitez contre tous ceux, qui voudront s'oppoſer aux deſſeins de ſa Majeſté, & lors que les glaces ouvriront le paſſage de tous cotez, ſa Majeſté ne donnera aucun Quartier aux Habitans des Villes, mais donnera ordre que leurs biens ſoient pillez, & leurs maiſons brûlées. Fait à l' Armée devant Aernhem ce 24 Juin 1672.

Signé,

LOUIS.

Et plus bas,

Le Tellier.

The Declaration.

HIS Majeſty conſidering how it has pleas'd God to bleſs his juſt Deſigns, and proſper his Undertakings, ſince his Arrival in the Army; and it being his Intention to treat the People over whom he ſhall extend his Victories, with the higheſt Clemency: To the intent therefore that they may deſerve his great Goodneſs, his Majeſty has caus'd to be declar'd, and does by theſe Preſents declare, That all the Inhabitants of the Cities of *Holland*, who ſhall voluntarily ſubmit to him, and receive the Troops

Troops he ſhall ſend for their Security and Defence, ſhall be treated as favourably as they can deſire; and ſhall be maintain'd in all their Privileges and Immunities, and have Liberty of Conſcience, and the free Exerciſe of their Religion.

On the contrary, all, of whatever Quality and Condition, who ſhall refuſe to comply with theſe Offers, and ſhall reſiſt his Majeſty's Forces, either by the Inundation of their Digues, or otherwiſe, ſhall be puniſh'd with the utmoſt Rigour. At preſent, all Hoſtilities ſhall be us'd againſt thoſe who oppoſe his Majeſty's Deſigns; and when the Ice ſhall open a Paſſage on all ſides, his Majeſty will not give any Quarter to the Inhabitants of ſuch Cities, but give Order that their Goods be plunder'd, and their Houſes burnt. *Given at the Camp before* Arnheim, *this 24th of* June, 1672.

Sign'd,

LOUIS.

And underneath,

La Tellier.

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FINIS.